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*JAVA IN THE 14TH CENTURY*

*NĀGARA-KĪRTAGAMA*

VOLUME II





I. A TEMPLE, SEE P. VIII.

KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT  
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE  
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41301



# JAVA IN THE 14TH CENTURY

A STUDY IN CULTURAL HISTORY

THE NĀGARA-KĒRTĀGAMA BY RAKAWI  
PRAPAÑCA OF MAJAPAHIT, 1365 A.D.

*Third edition, revised and enlarged by some contemporaneous texts,  
with notes, translations, commentaries and a glossary*

by

THEODORE G. TH. PIGEAUD, PH. D. LEYDEN

ILLUSTRATED WITH DRAWINGS BY PROFESSOR TH. P. GALESTIN

PUBLICATION COMMISSIONED AND FINANCED BY  
THE NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

## II

NOTES ON THE TEXTS AND THE TRANSLATIONS

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GLOSSARY, GENERAL INDEX



# VOLUME II

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## INTRODUCTION

The present second volume of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama edition contains those notes on the text and the translation of the major poem and the appended minor writings and charters that may be of interest to students of the Javanese language. Perusal of these notes on idiom and linguistics will be found the more fruitful if the glossary (volume V of the present edition) is consulted continuously.

No lengthy discussions of linguistic subjects are to be found in the present volume. They would be out of place in this new Nāgara-Kērtāgama edition, for its tenor is primarily sociological. Exceptions have been made only for some places where short grammatical discussions seemed in place in order to elucidate points of the translation.

In the notes on the contemporaneous minor writings and charters differences between the scholarly idiom of Court literature (Nāgara-Kērtāgama and Royal charters) on the one side and the popular vernacular idiom of daily life on the other have been pointed out repeatedly. The close relationship of the 14th century Majapahit vernacular with modern Javanese is apparent. Occasional remarks on words belonging to regional idioms, either Eastern Javanese Majapahit or Kaḍirinese or Central Javanese, may be of use to students of the history of the Javanese vocabulary.

The present author has been at great pains to ascertain the shades of meaning belonging to some words repeatedly used in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama and contemporaneous texts. His tentative English renderings of those words are explained in the present notes. The explanations can easily be found by means of the glossary which serves in those cases as general index. Of course the meaning attached by 14th century Majapahit Javanese to technical terms of law, rural custom, religion and the Royal Court need not be exactly identical with those prevailing in previous reigns (Royal charters of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries) nor with those current in the subsequent Central Javanese period of Javanese history. Still in many cases familiarity with present-day rural conditions, customary law, popular usage and Court manners has proved advantageous for the right understanding of Nāgara-Kērtāgama passages.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Batur : Batur charter, ed. Dr F. D. K. Bosch, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1915, p. 144.
- Berg R. : Professor Dr C. C. Berg, *Herkomst, vorm en functie der middeljavaanse rijksdelingstheorie*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks, deel 59, Amsterdam, 1954.
- B.K.I. : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde te 's-Gravenhage, since 1852.
- Bl. : Biluluk charters, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918.
- C. : Codex Orientalis 5023 Leyden University Library, containing the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text.
- Col. : Colophons of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text in codex 5023 Leyden.
- comm. : Commentaries on the Nāgara-Kērtāgama, the Minor Writings and the Charters, in vol. IV.
- Damais : L. Ch. Damais, *Études d'Épigraphie Indonésienne*, Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. XLV—XLIX.
- Djawa : Djawa, Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut, Surakarta-Yogyakarta, 1920—1940.
- F. : Ferry Charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates I) and Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 255.
- Galestin : (Professor Dr) Th. P. Galestin, *Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche tempelreliëfs*, Akademisch proefschrift, 's-Gravenhage, 1936.
- gl., gloss. : Glossary of the Nāgara-Kērtāgama edition, in vol. V, and Glossary of Brandes-Krom's Pararaton edition.
- H.J.G. : Professor Dr N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1st ed. 1926, 2nd ed. 1931.
- I.N.I. : Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1940.

## XIV

- Jav.: Javanese, especially the Javanese language.
- Jaya: Decree Jaya Song, ed. Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 207.
- Kbg.: Karang Bogem charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates V).
- K.B.N.W.: Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek door Dr H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, † 17 augustus 1894, uitgegeven door Dr J. Brandes, 4 volumes, Batavia, 1897—1912.
- Ke.: Professor Dr H. Kern, Het Oud-Javaansche Lof-dicht Nāgara kṛtāgama van Prapañca (1365 A.D.). Tekst, vertaling en bespreking overgedrukt uit de Verspreide Geschriften, Dl. VII—VIII, met aantekeningen van Dr N. J. Krom, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, 's-Gravenhage, 1919.
- K.O.: Kawi Oorkonden, Inleiding en Transcripties, door Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart, Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1875.
- Kr. note: Aanteekeningen door Dr N. J. Krom: notes appended to Professor Kern's Nāgara-Kṛtāgama edition of 1919.
- Ktd.: Katiḍen charter, ed. Professor R. M. Ng. Dr Poerbatjaraka, Tijdschrift van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap, vol. 76, 1936, p. 387.
- Kunst-Goris: Mr J. Kunst, met medewerking van Dr R. Goris, Hindoe-Javaansche Muziek-instrumenten, speciaal die van Oost Java, Studiën over Javaansche en andere Indonesische muziek, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1926.
- m.c.: metri causa: conforming to the rules of (Indian) prosody.
- modern Jav.: the Javanese idiom of the Muhammadan Kingdoms of Central Java in (comparatively) modern times, since about 1600 A.D., as distinguished from Old Javanese.
- Naw.: Nawanatya, codex orientalis 5091, Leyden.
- O.J.O.: Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, Nagelaten Transcripties van wijlen Dr J. L. A. Brandes, uitgegeven door Dr N. J. Krom, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 60, 1913, 2 volumes.
- Old Jav.: the idiom of the pre-Muslim, Hinduistic Kingdoms of (Central and) Eastern Java, lastly Majapahit, 9th till 16th century, as distinguished from modern Javanese.

- O.V.: Oudheidkundig Verslag, Oudheidkundige Dienst (Archeological Service) in Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- Par.: Pararaton (Ken Arok), of Het Boek der Koningen van Tumapël en van Majapahit, uitgegeven en toegelicht door Dr J. L. A. Brandes, 2de druk, bewerkt door Dr N. J. Krom, met medewerking van Prof. Mr Dr J. C. G. Jonker, H. Kraemer en R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, deel 62, 1920.
- Pdg.: Purwädigama preamble, quoted in Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek sub voce *ḍarm-mādyakṣa*.
- Prasasti: Prasasti Indonesia, diterbitkan oleh Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia, I: 1950, II: 1956: Old Javanese and Old Malay inscriptions, edited by Dr J. G. de Casparis, with Dutch translations and notes.
- Prb.: Professor Raden Mas Ngabehi Dr Poerbatjaraka, Aanteekeningen op de Nāgarakṛtāgama, Bijdragen Koninklijk Instituut, vol. 80, 1924.
- Ptp.: Patapan charter, ed. van Stein Callenfels, Oudheidkundig Verslag 1918 (Trawulan plates IV).
- Rkp.: Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa, codex orientalis 1850 Leyden.
- Rnk.: Rēṇēk charter, ed. Stutterheim and Pigeaud, Djawa, vol. 6, 1926.
- Rpg.: Rajapatigunḍala, codex orientalis 5056 Leyden.
- Sdh.: Sarwadharmā charter, ed. Brandes-Krom, Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden, vol. II, 1913, p. 188.
- Skt.: Sanskrit.
- Slm.: Shela Mandi charter, ed. Cohen Stuart, Kawi Oorkonden, 1875, p. 11.
- St.: Dr W. F. Stutterheim, De Kraton van Majapahit, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, vol. VII, 's-Gravenhage, 1948.
- Tantu: De Tantu Pangḡlaran, een Oud-Javaansch Proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht door Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Akademisch proefschrift, 's-Gravenhage, 1924.
- T.B.G.: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1853.

- Verh.B.G.: Verhandelingen van het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1779.
- Volksvertoningen: Dr Th. Pigeaud, Javaanse Volksvertoningen, Bijdrage tot de Beschrijving van Land en Volk, uitgave Volkslectuur, Batavia, 1938.
- Wld.: Walandit charter, ed. Brandes, Notulen van de Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, vol. 37, 1899, p. 64.
- Zoetmulder: Dr P. J. Zoetmulder S.J., De Taal van het Ādiparwa, een grammaticale studie van het Oudjavaansch, Verhandelingen van de Lembaga Kebudajaan Indonesia, "Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen", deel 79, uitgegeven met steun van de Kementerian Pendidikan Pengadjaran dan Kebudajaan Republik Indonesia, Bandung, 1950.
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*NĀGARA-KĚRTĀGAMA*

*NOTES*





CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION,  
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF MAJAPAHIT

about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 1—7, 21 stanzas.

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*Canto 1, stanza 1, verse 1:* *Pada* nearly always marks respect, it is rendered as Feet, with a capital "F". *Bhaṭāra* and *Bhaṭāri* are translated: Lord and Lady, with capital letters. *Bhaṭāra* mostly is a predicate of a god or a godlike person, a deified ancestor. Sometimes *Bhaṭāra* is a predicate of nobility or Royalty (often so in the Par., v. gl. of Par.). It is remarkable that in that case (at least in the Nāg.) it marks a less exalted rank than *Çri*, translated: Illustrious; it is rendered as: lord, without a capital. Perhaps the modern Jav. *bëndara*, often translated as Sir or Madam, is a corruption of *bhinaṭāra*. Formations of predicates or names of functions with infix *-in-* are well-known: *pinangeran*, *pinatih*. V. also comm. on the charter of Rēnēk.

1—1—2: Ke: *sākṣma*. C has *sākṣmeng*, which makes good sense.

1—1—3: The enclitic *ta* is often left untranslated by Kern and others. It seems preferable to render it as "now" or "surely" in all places where C has it, even though it is often not more than a stop-gap.

1—1—4: *Hyang* and *sang hyang* do not only indicate divinity, but also superhuman, supernatural power, possessed by a variety of beings, things and places, v. gl. It is translated: Spirit, spiritual and holy, sacred (*sacer*). In modern Jav. *aeng* means: miraculous. The usual translation of *iniṣṭi* (from *iṣṭi*) is: wished for. "Ideal" seems to make good sense in this place; but cf 37—2—3 Ke reads *hana*, m.c. Ke's identification of *waya* with *wāhya*: external, is open to objection. The Nāg. elsewhere has *wāhya*, properly spelled, v. gl. *Waya* means: to be present, which makes good sense in this verse. The word is used three times in the Nāg., v. gl. Reiteration of *hana* would have spoiled the euphony in 1—1—4. *Tēmah* means: to become, to appear as. Incarnation (Ke's translation) is *mārti*, v. gl.

*Canto 1, stanza 2, verse 1:* Ke: *byāpti* and *vaiṣṇava* in accordance with Skt; *nirguṇa* m.c. and indicated by the context. Ke translates it: without attributes. In this verse Nirguṇa is a name, though, v. comm.

1—2—3: Ke translates: all learning. Material learning (*sakala* in opposition to *niskala*) makes better sense, v. comm.

1—2—4: Ke: *wighnotsāraṇa*, Skt spelling. Kr remarks that the metre requires *saraṇa*. Prayoga must be a name, unrecognized by Kern, v. comm. Ke reads: *makawala -ng*, which does not make sense. C's reading is clear: *makapalang*; *pala* stands for *phala*: fruit.

*Canto 1, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *kateng*. Don, end, purpose, makes good sense in this verse, v. gl. and comm. Both Ke and Prb fail to translate it. In the Nāg. *nāhan* and *nā*: such (at the beginning of a sentence) may refer both to the preceding and to the following words; *nihan* is not used, v. gl. and cf. note on 2—2—4, *irika*. In the present edition *narendra*, *narādhipa*, *nareṣwara*, *nērpa*, *nērpati*, *narapati*, and *nērpeṣwara* are indiscriminately translated: Prince or: Princess, with capital initials. They indicate members of any Royal family, not exclusively the ruling Head of the dynasty. They are to be considered as titles to a greater extent than *adhipati*, *haji*, *ratu*, *nātha* and *bhāpati*.

1—3—2: Ke: *bhāpati* m.c. In the present edition *bhāpati* is translated: Ruler, and *nātha*: Protector, the original Skt meaning. *ḥṛī nātha*, Illustrious Protector, is the common title of viceroys and vice-queens. *Haji* and *ratu* are the only original Javanese words in this group. If it is used without adjunct (a name) *haji* refers quite often to King Hayam Wuruk, the poet's master; it seems to mark an intimate personal relation. It is rendered: my lord, our lord, my lady, our lady. In a note on canto 44 Ke mentions some related words in Philippine languages, all meaning: king: Bisaya *hadī*, Tagalog *hari*, Bikol *hade*, Pampanga *ari*. Perhaps in 14th century Java *haji* used as a predicate or a title of Royalty was specifically Kaḍiri idiom, v. comm. on canto 44, *Haji Jaya Katwang*. *Wiṣeṣa* often refers to the King; in that case it is translated: powerful. In modern Jav. *wisesa* always has this meaning, v. gl.

1—3—3: Ke: *sākṣāt*, Skt spelling. The Skt meaning of *sākṣāt*: manifestly, makes good sense in this verse as well as elsewhere in the Nāg. The modern Jav. meaning: as it were, does not fit well, v. gl. In the present edition a pair of Javanese nouns not connected by *i*, *ing* or *ri*, *ring* as a link between them is rendered as often as possible either by using an English genitival construction (*janma Bhaṭāra*: the Lord's birth) or an adjective (*wiku haji*: Royal priest). Compounds of this

kind are used frequently in Old Javanese when referring to Deities, Royalty, the Court and family relations. The usual Old Javanese connection of a pair of nouns by means of *i, ing* etc. is always rendered in the present edition by English: of (*kalangkaning prajā*: the impurities of the realm). In modern Javanese the suffixed personal pronoun of the 3rd person is often used as a link in these cases (*parentahe cū narapati*: the orders of the Illustrious Prince). In classical Old Javanese texts this use of the suffixed pronoun is not accepted. Kern and other editors often fail to translate the *an-* or *-n-* construction, e.g. in 1—3—3: *sira n anghilangakēn*. This construction seems often to be equivalent to the modern Jav. so-called substantival construction (with *olehe, anggenipun*). In the present edition as far as possible the *an-* or *-n-* construction is rendered in the translation as: like, as etc., or by using the participle. In some places the *an-* or *-n-* construction seems to be used only m.c., in order to avoid a hiatus and as a stop-gap. *Prajā* in the Nāg. means: realm, as in modern Jav., v. gl.

1—3—4: Skt *anukūla*, favourable, acquired by contamination something of the sense of Jav. *tukul*: stooping; *tungkul* is the usual form, v. gl.

Canto 1, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *prabhu*, Skt spelling. C's long *ū* is a mark of respect, probably. Ke fails to translate *rakwa*. In the present edition *rakwa* is rendered in the translation every time it is used, and mostly as: so it is said, v. Zoetmulder, *Ādiparwa*, p. 115. It indicates that the poet's information is second-hand; sometimes it seems to reflect on the trustworthiness of the informants, v. note 16—3—3. Very seldom *rakwa* is used merely as a stop-gap, like modern Jav. *rēke* and *rēko*. It seems to be an "uncertainty-form" (suffix-*a*) of *raku* (mentioned in KBNW), which is related to modern Jav. *ngaku*: to assert, to claim. Berg's translation of *rakwa* (R. p. 253) = as is known by all of you, as you will agree with me, is a mistake. Kern also fails to translate *iñlas*: already, indication of an action being finished or past. *Mangastwahēn* and *prabhu* are chancery terms meaning: to inaugurate or to cause to be inaugurated, and: inaugurated King. *Prabhu* is not translated in the present Nāg. edition. Neither is *ratu*, the original Javanese word for king. The words King and Queen are reserved as translations of *rāja* and *rājñī*, as usual.

1—4—2: Ke: *kakuripan*, the usual form. *Kawuripan* is Balinese spelling. Ke: *amānuṣṣḍbhuta*, m.c. The Skt meaning of *garbhacwara*: *içwara* from the womb, as soon as born, is rendered by the Byzantine *porphyrogenetos*, born in the purple, which confers the same sense.

1—4—3: The meaning of *kētug* is: rumble, thunder. Kern mistook it for *kutug*, which means: smoke and: incense.

1—4—4: Ke: *ananā*, Skt *nanā*. The meaning of *guntur* is: to collapse. Kern mistook it for *magēnturān*, which means: to bow. *Himawān* is a poetical expression for mountain. In C the *paten* is often written behind *n*, irrespective of grammar or logic, only in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding or misreading caused by ligatures to the small *akṣara n*. In the text (vol. I) the *paten* is rendered by a sloping dash. *Tanpa gap* and *tan hanāgap* are expressions going with mentions of death or mortal fright, v. gl. and KBNW sub *agap*. Modern Jav. *māgap* means: to gasp. Kern's translation: powerless is a mistake.

*Canto 1, stanza 5, verse 1*: Ke: *hingan* m.c. The meaning of *hingan* is: boundary, limit; hence: limitation, definition. Kern's translation: evidence is a mistake. *Prabhātama* is not a title nor is it an usual compound. *Uttama* is a stop-gap.

1—5—2: Ke: ~ ~ *tahu tumungkul*. The meaning of *cawa*, called unintelligible by Ke and Kr, probably is: helpless, powerless. It is related to modern Jav. *tawa*, *tawar*, *cabar*, *cawar* etc. *Umungkul*, bowed, is related with modern Jav. *ḍungkul*, cf. *tumungkul*. The original meaning of *lvir*: aspect makes good sense in this verse. The modern Jav. meaning: like, resembling, also fits well in several places in the Nāg., though, v. gl.

1—5—3: Ke: *caturācrama*, Skt spelling. For the meaning v. comm. and gl. The meaning of *nipuṇa* is: versed in, which makes good sense in this place. *Samāhita*: imposed task, hence: duty is used also 92—2—3.

1—5—4: Ke: *durjjana* and *wīryya sang prabhu*, Skt spelling. C's long ū in *prabhu* is a mark of respect.

*Canto 2, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *rājapatnī*, Skt spelling. Ke fails to translate *ndan*. *Nda*, *ndah* and *ndan*, placed at the beginning of a verse, mark the continuation of the narrative. In the present edition these words are rendered as: now or: then. In some places they seem to be used only as stop-gaps. *Çrī* is always translated: Illustrious, with capital initial. Ke rendered it sometimes by "*doorluchtig*", i.e. Serene. *Çrī* is not to be translated: Majesty, for its use is not limited to the Sovereign. It is a predicate of all members of any Royal family, v. gl.

In the present edition *sira* is always rendered by: He or She or They, Him or Her or Them, all with capital initials (unless the word is used as a predicate, v. gl.). As a consequence of this use of capital letters the translation in some places offers a singular aspect, showing "He" and "he" close together while referring to the same person. In those cases the Javanese text did not express "he" by a pronoun. It has been intercalated only to make the English sentence intelligible. The use of the pronoun *sira* and the suffix *-sira* marks respect, either for divine Beings, Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal or for eminent secular and spiritual lords, v. 10—2—4. In some places (e.g. just here, 2—1—1) *sira* seems to be used as a stop-gap. *Sira* is also used as a predicate before a noun, a title or a name, out of respect. In this case it is comparable with *sang*, which is always rendered as: honoured. *Sira* as a predicate is rendered as: worshipful; it marks a less exalted rank than *Çri*, v. gl. In the 14th century *Rājapatni*, Queenly Ruler, was the title-and-name of the ancestress of the Majapahit Royal family, not to be translated.

2—1—1: Ke: *mātāmaha Çri*. The usual Skt word for grandmother is *mātāmahi*, though. The Skt word is used instead of a Javanese word out of respect: modern Jav. *krama inggil*.

2—1—2: Ke: *bhaṭārī*, *bhagawati* and *chattra*: Skt spelling and m.c. *Paramabhagawati* must be the name of a goddess, v. comm. and chpt on Royal family in vol. IV.

2—1—3: Ke: *cīvarī vṛddhamuṇḍī*, Skt spelling.

2—1—4: Ke: *saptārūṇa*, Skt spelling. *Kalahan*, to die, is used out of respect (*krama inggil*). *Alah*, on the other hand, means: to be vanquished, v. gl. (*M*)*ungsi* and (*m*)*ungsi* mean: to want to reach, to make for, to aspire to, v. gl. Ke's translation: to go is too flat.

*Canto 2, stanza 2 verse 1*: (*M*)*antuk*, to go home, is used out of respect, the Royal family having their home in the world of the gods. In modern Jav. *mantuk* belongs to the ceremonial idiom (*krama*); the common word is (*m*)*ulih*. In the Nāg. these words are used interchangeably.

2—2—2: Ke: *menggōng*, a slip of the pen. Both *gěng* and *gōng* (with long *ē*) are used in C. *Anggěng* and *anggōng* are rendered as: to practise unremittingly. Modern Jav. *anggun* means: perpetually. The usual meaning of Skt *tuṣṭa*: pleased with, content with, makes good sense where it is used in the Nāg. Joy (Ke's translation) is expressed by: *suka*, v. gl. *Bhakti* means: submissiveness; modern Jav. *bēkti*

means: respect and: homage. The Skt meaning of *bhakti*: religious devotion, love of the Deity, is not found in the Nāg.

2—2—2 (and 2—2—4): Ke fails to translate *munggwing*. *Unggu* and its derivatives *ungguan* and *munggwing* are in common use in the Nāg. *Mungguh* is only used as a geographic name. *Ungguan* means: place, and *munggwing* is rendered as: to have one's place in, or: to occupy a place in. Modern Jav. *mungguh* means: to fit well into a place. In relation to the Princes *munggwing* is rendered as: to reside in, for in that case it is a chancery term indicating the titular seats of members of the Royal family, the viceroys and vice-queens, v. the chipt on the Royal family in vol. IV. In some places *munggwing* seems to be used pleonastically, though, like modern Jav. *ana ing*, *wontèn ing*, v. gl. The *jh* in *Majhapahit umuluy* is used out of respect, like modern Jav. so-called capital letters, v. Introduction of vol. I, the text. In *Majhapahit umuluy* the *t* of *tumuluy* is omitted m.c. Similar cases are very seldom met with in the Nāg.

2—2—3: This is the only place in the Nāg. where *reṇa* is used for: mother; in other places always: *ibu*. *Reṇa* contains the element *ra-*; probably it was considered respectful to a very high degree. The *ṇ* probably is used out of respect also, as if it were Skt. Ke: *Wijayot-tunggadewā*. C's *jiwayotunggāl* probably is a slip of the pen caused by the following *Jiwanapura*. *Gumanti* refers to the title "of Kahuripan". King Hayam Wuruk having acceded to the throne of Majapahit his title Protector of Kahuripan was transferred to his mother. Transference of vice-royalties was not at all unusual at the Majapahit Court. According to the Nāg. King Hayam Wuruk was sixteen years old at his accession to the throne. No doubt he was considered to be of age. His mother's taking care of him (*among*, 2—2—4) can not have been a full guardianship. *Among* and *momong* appear to have been honorific terms for the relation of a senior member of the Royal family, being of inferior rank, towards the King, who was his or her junior in family grade. Even in modern times those words are used in the same sense at the Courts of Central Java. In the meantime it should be noted that in the preambles of the Royal charters the names and titles of the King as a rule are followed by the names of several other members of the Royal family. Certainly in King Hayam Wuruk's reign Royal authority seems to have been vested not exclusively in the King: he shared it with his nearest relatives.

2—2—4: Ke: "residing in Jiwana (Kahuripan)". On *munggwing* v. note on 2—2—2. Kern fails to translate *rājya*. In the present edition

this word is rendered as: Royal residence or compound; it refers to a dwelling. It is not translated as: palace, in order to avoid the association with sumptuous buildings in some Indian style. The proper translation would be the modern Jav. *kraton* (*karaton*: place of a *ratu*, a king). A description of the Royal compound of Majapahit follows in the next chapter. Kern also fails to translate *irikang*. In the present edition *irika* and *irikang* are always rendered by demonstratives of locality: here or: there. In the Nāg. they are not used pleonastically or as stop-gaps, like *ireki* in modern Jav. poetry. *Iriki*, the counterpart of *irika*, is not used in the Nāg., nor is *nihan*, v. note 1—3—1. *Iki* is used, though, side by side with *ika*, v. gl. The use of *irikang* in 2—2—4 is not meaningless. The author, at home in the Buddhistic episcopal compound in Majapahit-town, points to another compound at some distance from the bishop's. *Jiwana* is interchangeable with the usual Kahuripan, *hurip* and *jīwana* both meaning: life. Kern, lastly, also fails to translate the *pura* of Jiwanapura. Both *pura* and *purī* are found in the Nāg., without difference of meaning such as exists in Balinese between *pura*: temple-compound and *purī*: Royal compound, only *pura* is more frequently used in the Nāg. than *purī*. Perhaps *purī* in some cases refers to a smaller place. The difference in the use of *pura-purī* and *rājya* seems to be that the latter word more directly refers to the Court and the King (*rāja*). The double mention of the compound in 2—2—4 (*rājya* and *pura*) can be explained in this manner that the Queen-Mother and her husband Prince Kērtawardhana resided in the compound of Kahuripan which was a part of the Royal compound (*rājya*) of Majapahit (v. 11—1—4). Compound of Kahuripan as the name of a place in the Capital would be comparable with the names of wards of the modern Central Javanese towns Surakarta and Yogyakarta that are called after Princes who once had their compounds in those places, e.g. Kapugēran, Kasingasaren: compounds of the Princes of Pugēr and Singasari, both distant Eastern Javanese districts. The comparison could even be stretched to the names of palaces in European Capitals like: Hôtel de Bourgogne, Exeter House, Maurits-huis, that were called after noblemen who once had their town residences there. On *nagara* and *nagarī*: town, v. note 6—4—3.

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*Canto 3, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Rājapāṇiṣṭwari*, Skt spelling. *Tēkwan* means more than just: and. In most cases it is to be rendered as: naturally, v. Zoetmulder, *Ādiparwa*, p. 204; in some places it seems



to be used as a stop-gap (in fact.). Probably *tēkwan* is the same word as modern Jav. *tēkon*: character, nature. Ke's translation: "she considered her as her mother" suggests that the Rājapatnī in fact was not Tribhūwanā's *ibu*. Of course *ibu* means mother as well as aunt, and *mātāmahā*: grandmother as well as great-aunt. The translation: treating her as a mother is a better rendering of the sense of the text. In the present edition *īcvara* and *īcvarī* are rendered by: Master and Mistress. The words are mostly used as honorific adjuncts, connected with names.

3—1—2: Ke's translation: "at the foot of the grave" suggests the existence of a grave as the permanent abode of the Rājapatnī's body. The translation of the present edition: performing the ceremonies at the feet of the honoured dead one, is meant to refer to the ceremonies after the decease, probably the cremation. The Nāg. does not contain a clear suggestion to the effect that the Rājapatnī's body was *not* cremated. As she was a Buddhist nun the possibility is not to be discarded, though. *Pējah* is in modern Jav. *krama* (ceremonial idiom) beside: *mati*: to die, dead. The two words seem to be used in the Nāg. without a pronounced difference of "tone".

3—1—3: The original meaning of *tansah*: unseparated, makes good sense in this verse. In modern Jav. *tansah* means: always. Kern translates: the father of our King and lord. In the present edition *de* when referring to family relations is rendered as: in relation to. Its use is not obligatory, v. *mātāmohā cṛī narendra*, 2—1—1. *Adhiṣṭa* is rendered as: overlord; it does not refer exclusively to the King. *Adhiṣṭa*, on the other hand, is a title of a man of standing and authority in rural districts; it is rendered as: chief, governor, v. gl.

3—1—4: Ke: *mārggāṅgde* (contraction of *mārga* and *āṅgde*). Ke: *sukā* m.c. Here as well as in other places where it is found in C Kern fails to write the *kh*; *kh* fits well into this place; v. Introduction, vol. I. *Sedampati* in C instead of *sadampati* m.c.? (suggestion of KBNW). *Sedampati* is used in other texts also. The only plausible supposition seems to be that it is a contraction of *sa-i-dampati* wherein *i* is a honorific predicate, like modern Balinese *i*. Relationship of this Balinese *i* with modern Jav. *si* (with nearly the same meaning) is probable. *I* as a honorific predicate is unknown in Old Javanese texts, though. Kern translates: "working for the world's welfare". *Suka* is frequently used in the Nāg.; it is rendered as: joy, rejoicing, like modern Jav. *suka-rēna*. "The world's welfare" is *jagaddhita*, v. gl.

Canto 3, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *āpagēh*, m.c. Ke: "the Viceroy".

*Bhūpati* does not mean: governor or: viceroy; it is to be rendered as: Ruler. *Paḡēh*, *apaḡēh* firm, fixed, is used very often at the end of a verse as a stop-gap.

3—2—2: Ke reads: *wara*, a good emendation, but he forgets to translate it. Ke: *mangḡēh parārtheng*, Skt spelling; translated: "tried to further other peoples' welfare in the world". *Mangḡēh* is derived from *angḡēh*: fixed legal relation, a juridical term, v. gl. *Parārtha*, to serve another, or other people, also means (according to Ke's note on 31—4—3): to have sexual intercourse. *Mangḡēh parārtha* evidently refers to Kērtawardhana's relation to the Royal family as a Prince-Consort. Probably his identification with Ratnasambhawa must also be interpreted with reference to his place in the Royal family and his activities in the realm, v. chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV. Both *jagat* and *rāt* (next verse), translated literally: world, mostly refer to the people or the public, v. gl.

3—2—3: Ke: *dhārotsāha*, m.c. Ke: *katwēddhyon. Wērdhi* means: increase and: to have children, v. gl. Kērtawardhana's care for the increase of the population and so for the King's revenues is also mentioned in 88—4, v. comm. Probably the words *wērdhi* in 3—2—3 and *kārya* in 3—2—4 refer to the two elements of the Prince's name: Kērtawardhana.

3—2—4: Ke: *kāryya (ning) sahana*, m.c. *Lagi* means: engaged in, as in modern Jav. *Kārya*, work, concern, very often refers to some traditional ceremony with a religious character, like modern Jav. *gawe*. *Angḡḡwani kārya* probably refers to the annual festival at Court in which Kērtawardhana took a conspicuous part, v. 91—5, the *rahēt* performance. Ke interpolates *ning* m.c. *Kadhyakṣa* can not possibly have the meaning of: office of a supreme judge, as Kern would have it. A better interpolation instead of *ning* is: *tan*, making the very common word: *tansah*. The emended reading of the verse is: *lagy angḡḡwani kārya tansah anahādhyakṣātidadḡseng naya*. *Anaha* is a derivation of *taha*: to reflect, v. gl. To mistake *k* for *h* in Balinese script is easy. *Adhyakṣa* is a chancery term; it is literally rendered as: superintendent. The linking of *adhyakṣa* with *atidadḡseng naya* surely is intentional: this makes it clear that *adhyakṣa* also refers to the management of affairs, v. gl. The end of 3—2—4 resembles the epithets of members of the Royal family and Court officials found in the preambles of Royal charters, cf note 12—4—4. Kern's translation of *adhyakṣa* as: supreme judge is open to doubt. In Majapahit the administration of justice was the task of a board of ecclesiastical officers<sup>2</sup>; the members of the Royal

family were not concerned with it, v. the chpt on the political organization in vol. IV.

*Canto 4, stanza 1, verse 1:* Ke: *Jiwana*, m.c.

4—1—3: Ke: *Dahānopameng (rū)pa ring*, m.c. The interpolation of *rū* makes good sense. Ke links *anopameng rūpa* with *ring sadguṇa* without any connecting word, which is unusual. Perhaps the verse is corrupt; the meaning is clear, though. *Sirvi* and its derivatives refer to the relation between subjects and Princes in a general sense; it is rendered as: to obey. *Setwa*, on the other hand, means: to serve, to wait upon.

4—1—4: Ke: *samasa(ma) kalawan hajing Jiwana*, m.c., with interpolation of *ma*. Neither Kern's translation: "as if she were a Queen" nor Krom's: "as co-Princess" take full account of the meaning of *lwir*: aspect. It is obvious that Sudewī in this verse is the name of a goddess. On the comparisons of the members of the Royal family with gods and goddesses, v. the chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV.

*Canto 4, stanza 2, verse 2:* Ke: *pāramajñottama*, m.c., translated by Kern: "peerless among the most excellent great scholars". English "among" can not be rendered in Javanese simply by *ing*. Moreover *pāramajña* is an unusual expression. Probably the verse is corrupt; a better reading is: *anopameng rūpa wijñottama*. There must exist a parallelism between the descriptions of the Princess and the Prince in 4—1 and 4—2. The verses 4—1—3 and 4—2—2 both contain first a reference to the personal appearance of the princely pair (*anopameng rūpa*), then an epithet referring to their intellect (*sadguṇa* and *wijña*). *Wijña* is used frequently in the Nāg., v. gl.

4—2—3: Ke: *nṛpe; nṛpati* has one syllable too much. Ke: *ekapakṣāpagēh*. C left an open space at the end of the verse.

4—2—4: Ke notes that three syllables are missing in this verse. He transcribes: *sira wihikan i - ~ - thāni* but he does not offer a solution. Krom proposes to interpolate: *warṇnaneng*, referring to *warṇana*, 79—2—1. *Warṇana* means: literary description; this does not fit into this verse. A more plausible reading is: *wihikan i solahing thāni*, which makes good sense. *Thāni* means: cultivated peasants' land. In modern Jav. *wong tani* is the common word for: peasant.

*Canto 5, stanza 1, verse 1:* Ke: *rājñi*, Skt spelling.

5—1—2: Ke: *anurāga*, Skt spelling.

5—1—3: Ke: *Daha*. Ke's wrong translation of this stanza, suggesting that it mentions two Princesses instead of one, has been set aright by Kr in his notes, v. chpt on Royal family. In the stanzas 5—1 and 5—2, referring to two Princesses of King Hayam Wuruk's generation, his cousin and his sister, the parallelism is particularly conspicuous. The frequent changes of metre mark the generations and grades of relationship. Probably the choice of the metre in many cases is significant. Some relation between the contents of a canto referring to some member of the Royal family and its metre is likely. Cantos containing references to King Hayam Wuruk's reign seem to be set by preference in the metre *jagaddhita*: "the world's welfare", v. the chpt on the composition of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

*Canto 5, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *duhiteṣṭwari*, Skt spelling.

5—2—2: Kr note: *munggwī*, m.c.

5—2—4: Ke: *narendra*, m.c. Kern's wrong translation of this stanza has been set right by Krom in his notes. *Īṣwari* must be a proper name in 5—2—1. Ke's translation "as younger sister to the King" does not render justice to *sākṣāt* and *tēkap*. *Tēkap* probably is related to *taṅg-kēp*: to take a hand in, to take action. *Tēkap* is frequently used to indicate the agent, going with a verb in the passive voice. With reference to family relations *tēkap* can be used to indicate the person who puts another into some relationship to himself. In both senses *tēkap* is synonymous with *de*. It seems impossible to find a good English translation for these words. In *tēkapnirang narendra* the suffixed *-nira* is used before *narendra* out of respect, in the same manner as *sira* sometimes is used as an honorific predicate, v. note 2—1—1. The words are rendered as: worshipful. They look very much like stop-gaps. It is to be noted that the King's sister is not given precedence before her maternal cousin. The latter is mentioned first in 5—1 because she was older, and an adopted daughter of King Hayam Wuruk's mother, according to the Par., v. the chpt on the Royal family.

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*Canto 6, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Penak*, with note: *Penan* in the text is a mistake. Krom put this right: *penan* no doubt means: brother-in-law. In modern Jav. *ipe* is brother- or sister-in-law. Ke: *labdhābhijeka prabhu*, m.c. As a rule Kern translates *kapwa* by: all. It seems preferable to reserve "all" for the common *kabeh* and *sakweh* and to render *kapwa* as: equally, which makes the best sense in most places where it is used, v. gl.

6—1—2: Ke: "the doughty Princess who rules in Lasēm". *Sang rājñi Lasēm* is the best reading, parallel to *sang rājñi pratiṣṭe Pajang* of 6—2—1. *Sang* is a honorific predicate used only before names or titles of persons or personifications. *Sang rājyeng Lasēm*: the honoured residence of Lasēm (as Kern would have it) is unidiomatic. *Suṣrama*: doughty (Dutch: *wakker*) is not a suitable epithet for the beautiful Princess Indudewi of Lasēm: it is a masculine epithet. In 6—1—2 it belongs to Prince Rājasawardhana to whom the stanza is dedicated. It is remarkable that the two Prince-Consorts of the King's generation are mentioned together in two stanzas after their wives, whereas in 3—2 and in 4—2 the two Prince-Consorts of the elder generation, King Hayam Wuruk's father and his maternal uncle, seem to be closely connected with their wives; v. the chpt on the Royal family. The senior Princes were of more importance at Court than their juniors.

*Canto 6, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *rājñi*, v. 6—1—2. *Pratiṣṭa*, correct Skt: *pratiṣṭhā*, is in the first place a chancery term referring to the titular residence of a Prince or Princess. In this sense it is synonymous with *munḡwīng*. In the second place *pratiṣṭa* is a term of divine worship, referring to the abode of a god or a deified ancestor, mostly a statue, v. chpt on religion in vol. IV.

6—2—2: Ke: *khyāti*, Skt spelling; *suṣilāpagēh*, m.c.

6—2—3: Ke: *dawīdā*, m.c.

6—2—4: Ke: *tuṣṭaning*, m.c. *Auwang anak* does not make sense; *amwang anak*, modern Jav. *among anak*, no doubt is the original reading. This description of the Princes' character is nicely followed up in the next stanza by *tēkwān*: in fact, naturally, and an enumeration of their children.

*Canto 6, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*, m.c. Kern's translation of this verse very rightly has been corrected by Krom in his notes. Both Ke and Kr, however, failed to translate *angḡiri*. *Angḡiri* is only used in this place in the Nāg.; it is rendered as: self-reliant. Evidently it refers to the fact that Princess Nāgarawardhanī of Wīrabhūmi was (as yet) unmarried, v. chpt on Royal family.

6—3—2: Ke: *Nāgarawardhanī pratita rājñikanyakānopama*, m.c.

6—3—3: Kr note: *i Mataram*, m.c. Princess Nāgarawardhanī is called *haji* (mylady), probably because she was the heiress-apparent to the throne.

6—3—4: Evidently *paningkah* is another word for son-in-law, v. gl. sub *tingkah*. Ke's translation "supreme judge" is unfounded.

*Canto 6, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: nṛpati and munggwing, m.c.*

6—4—3: Kr note: *sang paḍa* and *nāgarātunggalan*. *Nagara*, *nagari* and *nāgara* are used indiscriminately in the Nāg., meaning: town, i.e. a King's or Prince's compound with the surrounding compounds and manors of relatives and servants. The words also refer to the townsfolk. *Nagara* etc. is the opposite of *deṣa*, *pradeṣa*, meaning: district, especially: rural district, and of *thāni*, meaning: peasants' cultivated land. The *pura* or *puri* is the chief compound in the centre of a *nagara*, v. 17—3—1, 2. *Rājya* is rendered by Royal compound, Royal residence.

6—4—4: *Mangisaptvi* is not derived from *sapu*: broom (as Kern would have it) but from *kisapu*. Prb's translation: they hold in their laps, no doubt is right.

*Canto 7, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: dinakara and prabhu, m.c.*

7—1—2: Ke: *tanisra*, Skt spelling; C's *rinatwasan* is better Jav. than Ke's *rinabhasan*.

7—1—3: Ke: *tusfāng* and *sātawika*; *pangkajāmam* instead of *pangajāmam*. Ke explains that red lotus-flowers open in the sunlight, whereas the white ones close up at the same time. *Satya sātawika* does not mean: in sincere truth (as Kern would have it). The words are adjuncts of *kujana kumuda*. Probably the meaning in this place is: the bad people are reformed: they have grown faithful and true to the King. *Satya sātawika* goes well with *amam*: quiet, settled down, the other adjunct of *kujana kumuda*. It should be noted that the demonstrative *ikanang*: there, evidently is used in this place to separate the good people on the poet's side from the bad people (the King's enemies, at home or abroad) on the other side of an imaginary line. Prb reads: *pangkaja mamikanang*; he supposes that *mamikanang* contains a derivation of *wikan*: to know. But then, in the Nāg. the original form *wihikan* is used, v. gl., not the modern Jav. form *wikan*. It is remarkable that the same simile, of the two kinds of flowers, is used also in Nāg. 83—1, but there the bad people are compared to the red flowers and the good to the white ones, because the King is compared to the moon.

7—1—4: Ke: *grāma*, Skt spelling. *Sthiti* means: stable, order, orderly, like Skt *sthiti*. *Dhana* means: wealth; the almost homonymous *dhānā* means: rice. *Grāma* is to be rendered as: village. *Sakrama* means: according to custom. Kern's translation does not bring out the whole of the simile. The villages are compared with water. The villages are the homes both of good and bad people, and the water is where

the two kinds of lotus-flowers grow. The villages bring forth wealth (or: rice); so does the water on the ricefields. The wealth (or: rice) is offered to the King; the rice-plants grow and offer their grain to the Sun; the King is compared with the Sun.

*Canto 7, stanza 2, verse 2:* Kr note: *Pitṛpaṇi*, m.c. *Kaḍaṇḍan*: the punishing, *katēmtwan*: the finding, *karakṣan*: the protecting, the minding are unusual forms in Old Javanese. Some influence of Skt abstracts is probable. The usual Javanese construction of the sentence would be with *an*, like verse 3 has it: *hwir hyang Bāyu sirān tameng sakalaloka*. Ke's translations do not bring out the structure of the sentences.

7—2—3: The usual meaning of *dāta*: messenger makes good sense in this place (Ke has: spies). In all places where *sakala* is used in the Nāg. the translation: material (opposed to *niṣkala*: transcendental) seems to fit, except only in two places where *sakalaloka* and *sakala-bhūmi* must be rendered by: all places, all countries (on earth), v. gl.

7—2—4: Ke: *Pyṭhwī* m.c., Skt spelling.

*Canto 7, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *warṇāḍakṛti*, Skt spelling.

7—3—2: Ke fails to translate *para*. In the Nāg. *para* is not merely an indicator of the plural number, as it is in modern Jav. *Para* means: common, in common; it is also used substantively, meaning: the common people, the commoners. In modern Jav. this original meaning still is found in the expression: *sāga para*: rice for the common people. Connected with titles or names of offices *para* is always to be rendered as: common. In 7—3 the opposition of the *para putrikā*, the common maidens, to the *mukhyā*, the chief lady of the King's *zenana*, is obvious. In the Nāg. *para* never is used with reference to persons of the Blood Royal. Certainly this is not a coincidence: *para*, common, does not go with Royalty. In some places in the Nāg. *para*, connected with the name of an office, refers to a singular number, like modern Jav. *parañahi*; v. gl. *parakawi*. The translation: common is most appropriate in those cases. Skt *para*: foreign is found only in a few places in the Nāg. In a note on 98—1—1 Ke points out some parallels of Jav. *para*. He remarks that *parakawi* (common poet) is expressive of some humility while *rakawi* (honoured poet) is not. Both are used by Prapañca referring to himself. As parallels of *parakawi* and *parañahi* Ke mentions several words in Philippine languages: Bicol *paraguhit*: scribe; Bisaya: *palawma*: agricultural labourer; *palainum*: drunkard; Tagalog: *palaa-nito*: idolater. According to Kern those Philippine parallels (*para*- and *pala*-) prove that the *r* of Javanese *para* (common) is of another origin than the *r* of Javanese *ra* (honorific, *rakawi*), for the latter *r* is related

to *ḍ* (cf. *ḍaṅghyang*). Ke's translation of *putrikādika*: princesses etc. suggests that the ending *ādika* is synonymous with *ādī*. In the *Nāg.* *ādī*, etcetera, is frequently used, v. gl., and so is *aḍika*, i.e. Skt *adhika*, especially as an honorific ending to titles and names. In 7—3—2 *putrikādika* is the right reading; this *adhika* is rendered as: superior. Often it is no more than a stop-gap, though. *Putrikā*, translated by Ke: princesses, is better rendered as: maidens. In other places in the *Nāg.* it means: daughter, v. gl. The common women of the King's *zenana* were not Princesses of the Blood Royal. Probably many of them had been offered as tribute to the Court, v. 31—4.

7—3—3: Ke: *Parameṣwari*, Skt spelling. Ke fails to translate *stava*. Kr points out that *Parameṣwari* must have been a daughter of Wijaya-rājasa with a wife of lower rank. If she had been a daughter of the Princess of Dāha the poet certainly would have mentioned it in canto 5. *Svaduhitā* indicates that *Parameṣwari* was an "own" daughter of the Prince of Wēngkēr. *Parameṣwari* must be her title-and-name. Kr suggests that *Susumnā* is the personal name, but he overlooks *awarṇa*. *Susumnā* is the goddess to whom *Parameṣwari* is compared.

7—3—4: *Sawane naraṣwara* is rendered as: well-balanced with the Prince. Probably this expression is used in this place to render justice to *Parameṣwari*, who, though not the King's equal in rank, took a part at the King's side in the pageant on the occasion of the annual festival at Court, v. 84—3—3.

Canto 7, stanza 4, verse 1: *Tēkwan wyddhi* is used in 6—3—1 in the same context. In both places the translation: naturally for *tēkwan* is fitting.

7—4—2: Ke: *rājñi*, Skt spelling; *siniwāṅ* m.c.

7—4—3: Ke's translation has been corrected by Prb, reproduced by Kr: "Wikramawardhana is her fiancé". No doubt this is nearly what the poet meant to say, but then *nirukti* does not mean: fiancé, but only: fitting, and *saniruktyanira* contains a suffixed *-a*, indicating a future time or a hypothetical case. *Nirukti*, used substantively, is rendered in this place as: (Her) match.

7—4—4: Ke: *dewañi*, m.c. and *aṭmwa aḥlēm*. *Aṭmwa* is a future tense and *aḥlēm* does not need a prefixed *a-*, v. gl. At the time that the *Nāg.* was written Kusumawardhani and Wikramawardhana apparently still were children. Though it is stated that they manifestly were a god and a goddess the identity of their divine counterparts is left unspecified.



## CHAPTER 2 - MAJAPAHIT, THE CAPITAL

about 1350 A.D.

Cantos 8—12, 21 stanzas.

Cantos 8—12 have been translated and discussed extensively by Dr Stutterheim in his book: *De Kraton van Majapahit* (1948). Stutterheim's translations and emendations are discussed in the following notes; his opinions about Majapahit's topography are commented upon in vol. IV, commentaries on chpt 2.

Canto 8, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *warman*, Skt spelling. Ke: *parādbhuta*. C's *purādbhuta* makes good sense in this place, though. *Tingkah* means: order (of things and places) and behaviour (of living beings); Ke's and St's translation: appearance is a mistake. *Adbhuta* means: wonderful, v. gl., not: wonder, miracle (as Ke and St would have it).

8—1—2: Ke: *kulwan dik purawaktra mangharāpakēn*. Prh, mentioned in Kr's notes: *dimwarawaktra*. Muusses (O.V. 1923, p. 36): *kulwanning dwarawaktra*. Kr calls all emendations unsatisfactory. *Dwarawaktra*, gate-mouth (*dwara* instead of *dwāra*, m.c.) makes good sense in this verse. It is the space in front of the main gate, described in 8—2, v. comm. *ḍi* is found only in this place in the Nāg.; perhaps a scribe's mistake for *ri* or *ring* (v. gloss. sub *ḍi*, though). The meaning is clear. *Lēbuh* means: field, open space, v. gl. *Wayedran* is to be analysed as: *waya idēran*. *Waya*, to exist, is used in some more places in the Nāg., v. gl. Water is *wway*, with two *w's*, v. gl. Both Ke and St have supposed erroneously that this verse refers to water. *Idēran* means: circle, round. KBNW sub *indra* has: *indraning mata*: apple of the eye (rightly *indērañ*). *Idēran* is rendered in this place by: ring; it was a ring for cockfights, v. comm.

8—1—3: Ke: *bhrahmasthāna*. According to Kern *brahmasthāna* is the Indian mulberry-tree, *Morus alba*, modern Jav.: *bēsaran*. To be expected in this place would be: *aṣwattha*, *Ficus religiosa*, modern Jav.: *waringin*, because the terraces (Skt: *bodhimāṇḍa*) usually belong

to those trees, according to Kern. This may be true. *Buddhi* in this verse is the name of a second kind of tree: *Ficus Rumphii*, modern Jav. *wudi*. This makes better sense than Kern's: *pathani-buddhi*. *Inapi*: well cared for, from *api* (v. gl.), refers to the care that was taken to keep the rows of trees in good form, by regular trimmings. This can still be observed in modern times in the Central Javanese capitals Surakarta and Yogyakarta. *Cara-cara* is mentioned in several other places in the Nāg., v. gl. Probably it is the name of some decoration made of leaves or flowers. It is rendered tentatively as: festoons, floral decorations.

8—1—4: *Ngkā tonggwan* is to be analysed as: *ngkā ta unggwan*. To mount guard (Ke's and St's translation) is *matunggu*, v. gl. A *tanḍa* is a subaltern officer; the word is rendered by: headman, v. gl. *Karakṣan* is the name of a place: a guard-house or redoubt. *Kraksan* is the name of a town in Eastern Java. *Sabhā* is a meeting of the Princes with their subjects, and the place where the meeting is held: an open field, not enclosed like a yard. *Sabhā* is rendered in the present edition by the Indian "darbar", v. 85—1, and gl. *Purasabhā* is the meeting-place belonging to the Royal compound. It is not to be confounded with *wanguntur*: the main courtyard inside the wall of the Royal compound, and still less with *pasewan*: a private guard-house belonging to a group of Royal servants who are "in waiting", v. gl.

*Stanza 2* begins in C with a double *pada*, usually marking a change of the metre. As this is a mistake, one *pada* has been crossed out with ink by a later reader, perhaps Dr Brandes.

*Canto 8, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *rināpakāparimita*, Skt spelling. *Gopura* means a main gate of Royal and temple compounds, v. gl.

8—2—2: *Sanḍing*, a noun, means: contiguous one, neighbour. Ke's and St's translations: next, are confusing. St's rendering of *panggung* by: watch-tower is correct, v. comm. It certainly was not a cupola or a summer-house, as Ke suggests. *Patiga* is a technical term of architecture. KBNW's rendering: floor is to be understood as: raised floor, and its four vertical sides, that are visible. In the case of the watch-tower *patiga* can only refer to the parapet around the open top. The dazzling white parapet contrasted vividly with the wall of red brick. Together the parapet and the wall constituted the highly significant Royal combination of colours white-red, v. comm.

8—2—3: Ke note: "*kānnah* for *kañnah*, but the right spelling is *karnnah*". KBNW also: *arnah*. The double *n* is only to be explained by presuming a preceding *r*. Kr note: *ing pēkēn*, m.c. Ke: *dahat*.

Aichele (BKI, 113, 1959, p. 331) translates *lor-kidul*: on all sides. This metaphor, an abbreviation of *lor-kidul-kulon-wetan*, is fitting in poetical descriptions. In the prosy Nāg. the words have their literal meanings. *Kānnah lor* (cf. *kānnah wetan*, 8—4—1) and *kidul ing pĕkĕn* are two different indications, both referring to the situation of the long hall. *Rakĕt* means: close by. Crowded (Ke's and St's translation) is: *sĕk, sĕsĕk*, v. gl. There is no indication in the text (e.g. a word meaning: many, or a numeral) that in this verse the poet refers to a plurality of buildings. It seems probable that he meant one open hall, very long.

8—2—4: Ke: *kidul*, m.c. *Pahōman* is a locality: meeting place. *Pĕkĕn* is an open field where a market can be held. Permanent, closed market sheds (St. Kraton, p. 29) probably did not exist in Java before the 19th century, when they were built by the Netherlands Indies Government. *Bala* is a collective noun, indicating the class of the Royal servants (modern Jav.: *abdi dalĕm*). Ke fails to translate *ahyang*: sacred. In the Nāg. *ahalĕp* and *ahyang* in several places are found linked together. *Ahalĕp* evidently means more than just: beautiful (the usual translation); in the present edition it is rendered as: majestic, imposing (by a spiritual quality). On the crossroads v. common.

Canto 8, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *gimbar*, connected with Sundanese *gimbar*. St. refers to modern Jav. *jĕmbar*. Ke uses in the translation: *manguntur*. This is modern Jav.; *wanguntur* is the correct form. Ke: *i caturddiĕi*. A better emendation is: *añaturddiĕi*: to the four sides. Both Ke and St think only of *watang*, a long lance, v. gl. *Watangan* is a technical term of architecture: the name of a rather small type of building, probably open, occasionally used for devotional purposes (KBNW quotation from Swarajambu). In the present edition it is rendered as: pavilion. *Watangan ikāwitāna* is to be analysed as: *watangan ikā, awitāna*. *Witāna* also is a technical term of architecture: probably a rather large square open hall, mostly situated in the centre of a courtyard, and used for festive ceremonies. The best translation would be the modern Jav. *pĕndapa* (from Skt *maṇḍapa*). In the present edition *witāna* is rendered as: hall.

8—3—2: Ke: *bhujaṅga*, m.c.; *alĕnggiĕh* is a slip of the pen. *Manangkil* is a Court term, meaning: to be in waiting. It refers to Royal servants who have to hold themselves in readiness to take up their duties or to execute orders. In the meantime they are sitting and amusing themselves, eating or sleeping, as the case may be, in the guard-houses (*waĕma panangkilan*, guard-houses, mentioned 8—3—2, or *pasetuan*, 8—5—1) appointed to their group. Persons of the Blood

Royal do not *manangkil*. *Marĕk*, on the other hand, to approach, as a Court term means: to enter into the Royal Presence. It is said of the Princes too, v. gl. *Bhujangga* and *mantri* are chancery terms for the two classes of Royal servants at the Majapahit Court: the clerks or ecclesiastical officers and the mandarins holding secular offices. The best rendering of *muntri* would be the modern Jav. *priyayi*, meaning: a gentleman (however poor he may be) who holds some office. The old Portuguese rendering of the Skt *mantri*: *mandarin* is used in the present edition. Probably the *bhujanggas* and the *mantris* had their own *panangkilans* in which to sit in waiting. Kern's translation: scholars and Royal ministers, can not be correct because of the very humble place of the *panangkilans* mentioned in 8—3—2, on the outskirts of the outer courtyard. The meaning of *para*: common, is very clear in this verse. The places of the higher officials of course were nearer the centre of the Royal compound.

8—3—3: Ke: *çaiwa*, Skt. spelling. In the Nāg. *çaiwa* and *boddha* or *sogata*, Shiwaite and Buddhist, refer only to Shiwaite and Buddhist clergymen and to members of the Royal family. The religious convictions of the common people are ignored. Between *boddha* and *sogata* no difference in meaning can be found; *boddha* is used more frequently. The common clergy (*para*) sat in the outer courtyard, like the common clerks and the common gentlemen in waiting. The usual meanings of *mucaḥ*: to say, to pronounce, and of *aji*: holy lore, incantation, make good sense in this verse. *Mucaḥ* does not mean: to discuss (Ke and St). The accessories probably consisted of flower-offerings and frankincense. *Mawiwāda*: to have dissensions, is rendered in this verse as: to compete with each other. It is improbable that real dissensions used to break out at the time of the annual purification ceremonies mentioned in the next verse.

8—3—4: Ke: *sabhutwana*, m.c. Ke thinks of an eclipse (*grahana*) in *Phālguna* (February-March), which would be an odd coincidence. Kr draws attention to the ceremonies in *Phālguna* mentioned in cantos 83 and 84; he thinks that *grahana* can have the meaning: dark half of the month. St adopts this idea. As a matter of fact, the usual meaning of *grahana*: eclipse, does not make sense in this verse. The only plausible emendation for: *ri kīlaning grahana* is: *ri kīlaning çrawana*. In 8—3—4 the two great annual religious ceremonies of the Majapahit Court are mentioned: the *Çrawana-Bhādra* (July-August-September) ceremony, referred to in canto 63—4 and the *Phālguna* festival (February-March), described extensively in cantos 83 and 84. On the inter-

relationship of the two great annual ceremonies v. comm. *Amrayaṣṣitani bala*: to purify the Royal servants (on a fixed date, not dependent on an incidental eclipse) is partially described in KBNW sub voce *jaya* (Jayasunu). In cantos 63, 83 and 84 *prayaṣṣitta* is not used. It is not doubtful, however, that the annual ceremonies i.e. had the function of lustrations and purifications, v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

*Canto 8, stanza 4, verse 1*: In the Nāg. *homa* is a term of religious worship: an offering to the supreme gods (probably consisting mainly of flowers) celebrated by ordained priests of high rank on behalf of the Princes. *Homa* is rendered: fire-offering. The possibility that a fire was made in which flowers and fruits were burned should not be discarded, v. chpt on religion in vol. IV. *Hinoma* (emendation for *hanoma*) in 8—4—4 probably is to be translated: offered up in the fire.

8—4—2: The Majapahit *wipras* (brahmins) probably were Wishnuites, v. comm. *Natar* is the open, flat space belonging to a building, its yard. The *natar* is not necessarily enclosed by a wall or a hedge. *Batur* is the base of a building, a slightly raised terrace. *Tatur* is a term of worship connected with *satur*: to scatter, to strew. St's rendering: offerings to the demons is correct in so far as the *tatur*-offerings were presented to the chthonic spirits, the forces of the nether world. For that reason the *tatur*-offerings were separated from the *homa*-offerings, that were presented to the supreme gods. On the relation of the Wishnuite brahmins with the chthonic offerings v. the chpt on religion. Kern's wrong translation of *barat* by: south-west was prompted by KBNW's note connecting *barēt* with Bisaya *babagat*: strong S.—W. wind. *Barat*: west is common Malay; it is not Javanese. In this verse *barat* is used instead of the common Jav. *kutwan* m.c. Of course in the Majapahit period many Malay words were known to Javanese of the higher classes of society, especially terms connected with navigation (like the names of the points of the compass), trade etc. The use of Malay words in Old Javanese texts has been noted before.

8—4—4: Ke: *hinoma*, v. 8—4—1, to be translated: offered up in the fire. The usual meaning of *racana*: ornament makes good sense in this place. *Puṣpa* is a term of worship: structures of various forms made of ingeniously arranged flowers and sometimes also fruits, to be used as offerings or as objects of worship, v. gl. In the present edition *puṣpa* is rendered as: flower-offering or flower-puppet. The words for common flowers in the Nāg. are *kuṣuma* and *sēkar*, v. gl. The *puṣpas* are the grammatical subjects of the passive voice *hinoma*.

On the meaning of the Princes' attendance at the flower-offerings v. comm.

*Canto 8, stanza 5, verse 1*: Kr note: *ikanang*, m.c. Ke: *pasewan atata*. *Palawangan* means: gate-building, v. comm. *Seton* is a Court term meaning: to be at one's service; sometimes it is to be translated as: to pay homage. A *pasewan* is a place for serving-men; it is certainly not a place where the King receives guests (Ke's translation). It is a small hall or pavilion for the use of the Royal servants who are awaiting their turns (v. 8—6). The *pasewans* mentioned in 8—5 are separated from the main courtyard (*wanguntur*) by a wall with a gate (*palawangan*) in it. They are situated on both sides of a road (*hawon*, 8—5—2). Probably that means that the *pasewans* were of a higher standing than the *panangkilans* in the main courtyard mentioned in 8—3—2. Of course the Royal servants in the *pasewans* were of a higher rank than the common clerks and mandarins in the outer courtyard. In this description of the Royal compound, inside (*ing jro*) always means: in the direction of the centre, and so: higher in rank than farther outside.

8—5—2: *Weçma* in the Nāg. is a common word for house, or building, v. comm.

8—5—3: Ke: *mutwah* and *bala maneka*. *Hēlēt* means: partition, v. gl.; in this case *palawangan*: gate-building is to be supplemented, in accordance with 8—5—1. What was to be found behind that gate is not mentioned. Prb's and Kr's reading: *balay aneka* is correct. In the Nāg. a *balay* or *bale* is a building of lesser importance, probably a kind of small pavilion. *Medron* means: with a ring (*ma-idēran*, v. 8—1—2). In this case the *idēran* is a circular canal. Ke's "going around" would be: *midēr*, v. 9—3—1.

8—5—4: *Ri tēngah* is to be separated from *nator*. "In the centre of the yard" would be: *ri tēngahing nator*, v. gl. sub *tēngah*. *Pasatan* is the name of the *maṇḍapas* (small halls). *Aṣaṅkhya*, innumerable, can only refer to *maṇḍapa*. To make it an adjunct of *sata*: cock (assuming that *pasatan* is a derivative of *sata*, Ke: birds, followed by Kr and St) seems forced. Moreover *mauwurahan* refers to the noise of a human crowd. The screeching of the kind of cock that is kept by Javanese connoisseurs is called *cēker*, v. KBNW. The usual meaning of *pasatan* (from *sat*, *asat*: dry): a change of clothes especially after a bath, makes good sense in this verse. KBNW does not mention *pasatan* sub *sata*. Probably the *bales* all around were washing places and bathrooms built on the bank of a small circular canal made for that end, the *idēran*.

The *maṇḍapas* were dressing-rooms where people who came from afar could change before entering the inner part of the Royal compound. Perhaps the *maṇḍapas* were also used as guest-houses. On the improbability of the valuable cocks having their place in the outer courtyard v. comm.

*Canto 8, stanza 6, verse 1*: Ke: *pasewan i kidul*. The reading *angidul* is preferable; in the Nāg. the indigenous Javanese names of the points of the compass as a rule are not preceded by *i* or *ing*, v. gl. *Wijil* is a gate, not the main gate (*gopura*) but larger than *palawangan*. The probability of a difference in architecture between the three kinds of gates is great. Second *Wijil-Gate* and First *Wijil-Gate* (reckoned from the Interior, the King's residence, outwards) are names of places inside the Royal compound. *Dalēm* is to be rendered as Interior, inside the wall and the main gate. It does not refer to one building in particular, as modern Jav. *dalēm* does.

8—6—2: Ke: *tinika*, m.c. Neither Ke's nor Kr's nor St's translations make good sense. The explanation is as follows. The *pasewans* were built on terraces (St: piled up), the next terrace, going inwards, raised (by some feet only, probably) above the preceding one, and separated from it by a wall, a hedge or a fence with a gate (*palawangan*) in it. The serving-men were divided into groups or companies of different rank. In all probability the companies of the highest ranks had their places on the highest terraces, nearest to the Second *Wijil-Gate*. *Tiningkah* is metrically impossible; a better reading is: *tinitah*. *Titah* is a Court term, meaning: order according to rank, precedence, v. gl.

8—6—3: Ke: *kaptwāng weçma*. *Kapwa r wweçma* is the original reading: the double *w* was preceded by an *r*. *Ar* or *r* goes well with plurals; for the rest the meaning is the same as *n*, *an*, v. gl. The usual meaning of *waton*: skirting, edge as reinforcement, especially of a wooden or bamboo couch, makes good sense in this verse. Probably the *pasewans* were open on three or four sides, mere roofs on wooden pillars (the rafters were visible). Between the pillars were fixed boards, forming couches raised by some feet above the level of the ground, used for sitting or lying down. The *waton* was the wooden edge or skirting at the outside of the couch. Galetin's book on Javanese wood constructions contains many sketches of pavillions such as the Nāg. poet saw in the Majapahit Royal compound. In the present edition *len* is as a rule translated as: on the other hand, otherwise. The rendering: and, also, is often unsatisfactory.

8—6—4: Ke: *sēk* and *makēmīt anu mapekša*. *Agilir makēmīt* is

to be separated from an *umapekṣa wāra*. This verse is of particular interest; it gives some information on the organization of the service at the Majapahit Court, v. comm.

*Canto 9, stanza 1, verse 1:* *Pangalasan* is a Court term (this is indicated by the following *ingeran*: called at Court). It is a collective noun indicating several groups or companies of Royal servants, especially used as military men. 9-1-2, 3, 4: Ke's translation does not make sense; it has been corrected by Prb (in Kr's notes): "list of companies mostly called after their countries". The *Nawaratya* contains a list of twelve names of companies. *Asuruhan* means: to have charge of, v. gl. Ke reads: *masuruhan sāmajādhi prakīrṇa*. Probably *ādi* is the better reading, standing at the end of a list.

*Canto 9, stanza 2, verse 1.* In the Nāg. *adī* means excellent (Skt *adhi*); *adika* (Skt *adhika*) also is used, v. gl. In some places *adī* and *ādi* (at the end of a list: etcetera) seem to be interchanged, v. gl.

9-2-2: *Tanḍa*, *gusti*, *wado-haji* and *among-tuhan* no doubt are ordered according to rank, from high to low. *Tanḍa* is rendered as: headman, *gusti* as: yeoman, *wado-haji* as: common soldier and *among-tuhan* as: camp-follower. *Yawa* is the name of a place: the space next to the gate, outside, v. comm. On no account is it to be translated as if it were an abbreviation of *Yawabhūmi*: Java (Ke and St).

9-2-3: Ke: *ping kalih*, m.c. In the Nāg. *adika* (Skt *adhika*) as a rule belongs to the preceding word, not to the following one, v. gl. *Apinta*, by Ke and St translated: separated (not mentioned in KBNW) is to be read: *apintu*: doorkeeper, which makes good sense. The reading is: *bhayangkāryāpintuṣapupul*, v. KBNW sub *pintu*.

9-2-4: Ke: *bhujaṅga*. On no account is *para* to be translated: all (St), v. note 7-3-2. The common *kṣatriyas* of 9-2-4 were the inferiors in rank of the honoured *kṣatriyas* of 10-3-1, who were admitted to the Royal Presence. On the importance of the Second *Wijil*-Gate v. comm.

*Canto 9, stanza 3, verse 1:* Kr notes: *ring paścima* and *umareng* *Mṛtyudeçāyaçākweh*, m.c. "Death's Country" is south.

9-3-2: Ke: *wirabhṛtyān*, m.c. In this verse *Wirabhṛtya* probably means: the retinue (*bhṛtya*) of the Princess of *Wirabhūmi*. The retinue of her father the Prince of *Paguhan* is mentioned in 9-3-4. On the reason why these Princes are mentioned in this stanza v. comm. Neither Ke's nor St's translations of *wirabhṛtya* make good sense. A



*sumantri* of course is higher in rank than a *mantri*, v. gl. The following word: *amawa* is rendered: vested with authority, v. KBNW. This fits well with: *pinituha*: considered as an elder.

9—3—3: *Lawangan*, probably an abbreviation of *palawangan*, could also mean: small *lawang* (gate). The difference is unimportant. In the Nāg. *gērha* is a fine word for house, building; the common word is: *weçma*. In some cases *gērha* is used for houses inhabited by persons of high rank, v. gl.

9—3—4: Ke: *sang* and *nityakāla'n*, m.c.

Canto 9, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *witānābhinawa*, m.c. Ke: *mapupulan*. *Papupulan* makes good sense in this verse, though.

9—4—3: *Sopacāra* is to be rendered: with dignity. Regalia (the meaning of *upacara* in modern Jav.) are not mentioned in the Nāg. In this verse (and in many more places in the Nāg.) *Çrī Nātha* (or a synonymous expression) is to be understood as a plural: the Princes, or, better still, as a collective noun: Royalty. In many cases the Royal family acted as a unity, v. chpt on the Royal family in vol. IV.

9—4—4: Ke: *witānāprameya*, m.c.

Canto 10, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *witāna satata*, m.c. The difference between *manangkil*: to be in waiting (in the first hall) in stanza 1 and *marēk*: to enter into the Royal Presence (in the Royal hall belonging to the Interior) in canto 11 is clear.

10—1—2: The high officials who are waiting to enter into the Presence are enumerated according to rank, from low to high. The common *āryas* (Honourables) of 10—1—2 probably are in opposition to the true *āryas* of 10—3—4. On the offices v. the chapter on the Court in vol. IV. The English translations are only tentative, of course. The meaning of *pasungguhan* is: exalted title (in the Par. *paṅggahan*). There is no other *pasungguhan*-bearer mentioned in opposition to the common *pasungguhan*-bearer of 10—1—2. Moreover *para* does not go well with exalted rank. For that reason the reading *sang apasungguhan* is preferable; it is also grammatically satisfactory. The scribe's *para pasungguhan* has been influenced by the preceding *parāryya*. St's supposition that the persons enumerated in 10—1—2 were Princes of the Blood Royal is not borne out by the other places in the Nāg. where the same titles are found. Moreover the Princes have the predicate *Çrī*.

10—1—3: *Pañca* and *mañca* go with names of offices (cf. *pañca*

*taṇḍa*). The words are probable related to modern Jav. *kañca*. All three are to be rendered as: Fellow. *Pañcas* or *mañcas* seem to be members of a group, v. gl. Kr note: *mapatih* instead of *mapagèh*. Attention is drawn to the prefix *a-* or *ma-* of some names of offices (*apatih*, *mapatih*). Presumably the use of the form with prefix *a-* marks respect, v. gl. sub *a-*. On the functions of the five Fellows of the Court administration v. the comm. on the Nawanatya.

*Canto 10, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *sanagara* m.c. An *anūtya* seems to be a member of the class from which the Royal servants sprang. On the meaning of this stanza v. comm.

10—2—2: Ke: *paradēmung*; Kr note: *sakāla*, m.c.

10—2—3: Ke's and St's translation of *mahingan*: to limit is a mistake; the meaning is: to have a limit. *Watèk* is not frequently used in the Nāg. It is rendered as: what belongs to; it is not merely an indicator of the plural number. *Amatèk* means: to draw, to pull, v. gl.

10—2—4: It is worthy of remark that in this verse (and in 10—3—4) the suffixed pronoun *-nira* does not refer to persons of the Blood Royal but to officers and clergymen of the highest rank, v. note 2—1—1.

*Canto 10, stanza 3, verse 1*: *Wipra, rēṣi, çaiwa, sogata* is a quartet of clergymen that is well-known in the Nāg., v. gl. The two *dharmādhyakṣas*, rendered: bishops, represent the Shiwaites and Buddhists in this stanza.

10—3—2: Ke: *witāna*.

10—3—3: Kr note: *sapta madulur*, m.c. On *dharmādhyakṣa* and *upapatti* v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

10—3—4: Both Ke and St connect *ārya* with *lèkas*. *Ārya* is a predicate and a title; in Javanese the connection *lèkas ārya*: honourable conduct, is impossible. The Javanese for: honourable conduct would be: *lèkasning (sang) ārya*: conduct of the (honoured) Honourables.

*Canto 11, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *çobhita*.

11—1—2: The usual meanings of: *i dalèm*: in the Interior, and of: *pinaka*—: used as, make good sense in this verse. The poet means to say that the hall of 11—1—2 (the same one as that of 9—4—4) was considered as pre-eminently the great hall of the Interior, though it was situated outside, to the west of the First *Wijil*-Gate, v. comm. *Piningit* means: secluded, tabooed; prohibited (Ke, St) is a wrong

translation. *Umañjing*, to enter, is only used in this verse in the Nāg. The -a form (*umañjinga i dalēm*) marks an eventuality.

11—1—3: Ke: *yugala*. Instead of *nṛpati*, *nṛpa* is to be read, m.c.

Canto 11, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *saka*. *Apñēd* means: well arranged, v. gl. Beautiful is: *arēja*. *Warjana*: description, makes good sense in this verse. The poet was not allowed to enter the Princes' private courtyards, and so he had only the descriptions of others, probably serving women, to rely upon.

11—2—2: Ke: *açmaṣṭaka* (Skt: *iṣṭakā*), stone-brick, must be the name of a kind of brick. *Wētū-wētū* (also in *Bhomakāwya*, ed. Teeuw) is rendered as: raised work. Probably 11—2—2 refers to the well-known reliefs in brick of the Majapahit period.

11—2—3: Ke: *gṛhādika*.

11—2—4: Ke: *campakādi* and *ing natar*. St is right in linking *ādi* with the following *nikanang*; the correct reading is *ādi* (Skt *adhi*), v. note 9—2—1.

Canto 12, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *atatā*. *Kanṭa*: shape, outline, periphery, makes good sense in this verse.

12—1—2: Ke: *Brahmarājadhika*. *Sira* is used as a predicate before the title of an eminent spiritual lord. *Dwija* is the title of a member of one of the four religious denominations: *wipra*, *rēṣi*, *çaiwa*, *boddha*, v. the chpt on religion in vol. IV.

12—1—3: Both Ke and St think that *Rēngkannadi* is a name, which is improbable. Prb interprets *anawang sangha* as *çangkapāṇi*: a Brahmanical priest (Par. glossary), which is far-fetched. Kr draws attention to *Nadī* in 64—3—3. Probably the right reading of the corrupt verse is: *mukyang anawang sang kākī pūngkwīng nadī*. *Nawang*: to have a cock-fight, does not make sense in this verse. *Nawang* (from *sawang*) means: to look intently at. KBNW sub *sawang* interprets *ñawang*: to sacrifice, while being at home, to a deity who is at some distance, e.g. in a plantation. This proves that *nawang* is a term of religious worship. Instead of *kāka*, *kāki*: old man, equivalent to Father, is read: in 64—4—1 the great age of the *mpungku* of *Nadī* is mentioned. Lastly, instead of the utterly meaningless *rēngkan*, *pūngkwīng* is to be read. The Javanese characters *ṛ* and *pū* are not dissimilar. *Pūngkwīng Nadī*, i.e. *mpungku ing Nadī*, rendered as: Monsignor of *Nadī*, makes good sense in this verse.

12—1—4: *Punggawas* probably are distinguished serving-men, dis-

tant relations of the Royal family. By *sagotra* is meant: all people related to the Royal family by birth or by marriage, v. comm.

*Canto 12, stanza 2, verse 1:* Ke: (n)dan and: *atyadbhuta*, Skt spelling.

12—2—2: Ke: *Çacti*, Skt spelling.

12—2—4: On the meaning of *kaṁḡḡetan* v. comm. *Sang Nātha* no doubt refers to the Princely couple Matahun-Lasēm, not to the King (Ke and St). A Royal *kaṁḡḡetan* (supposed that such a place existed) would have received more than one line. Moreover *Sang Nātha* instead of the usual *Çrī Nātha* would be strange, if the King was meant.

*Canto 12, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *uttara*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *kuwu āhalēp*, m.c.

12—3—2: *Sākṣāt*: manifestly, makes good sense in this verse.

12—3—3: Ke: *narendra dhīra* and *nīty āpatih*, Skt spelling; *Daha*.

12—3—4: Ke: *khyāting rāt*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 12, stanza 4, verse 1:* A *kuwu* is a compound of less importance than a *pura*. In the present edition it is rendered as: manor, v. chpt on economy in vol. IV. The difference between the predicate *sang* in 12—4—1 and the title *bhaṭāra* in 12—3—4 is evident. On Gajah Mada's rank v. the comm. on canto 19. In the Nāg. the name is spelled both Gajah Mada and Gaja Mada, Skt spelling. In the present edition Gajah Mada is used. This form of the name has been in common use for a long time.

12—4—2: Ke: *aprabhu*, Skt spelling.

12—4—3: Ke (unnecessarily): *wāh apadu*. The reading: *wāgmī wākpaṭu*: eloquent, sharp of speech, makes good sense. Ke: *dhīrotsāha*. *Upaṣama* is the correct Skt spelling.

12—4—4: Ke: *rājādhyakṣa*. Ke's and St's translations are arbitrary. Probably the original reading is: *rājyādhyakṣa*: superintendent of the Royal residence. This is a honorific epithet, not the name of an office, v. Nawanatya 3b and 4a. The string of epithets is reminiscent of the preambles of Royal charters, v. note 3—2—4.

*Canto 12, stanza 5, verse 2:* Ke: *uttama*, Skt spelling; *kaḇoddhan* and *açry ātatā*. Ke's wrong translations: Shiwaite and Buddhist temples have been corrected by St. On the relation between the Shiwaite and the Buddhist bishop v. comm.

12—5—3: Ke: *sumantryadhika len sang*. Kr note: *lawan sang*, m.c.

12—5—4: Ke: *pura*, Skt spelling. The suffixed *-nira* refers to the distinguished gentlemen mentioned in the preceding verse.

*Canto 12, stanza 6, verse 1:* Ke: *Tikta-çrīphalānopama*, Skt spel-

ling. The double comparison with the moon and the sun refers to the compounds of the King and of Wěngkēr-Daha. Ke's and St's translations, suggesting that one compound was compared with the moon and the sun at the same time, are to be discarded, v. comm.

12—6—2: Ke: *kara*. C has *karang*, as Kr noted. St. overlooked this note. Ke's and St's translations do not make sense as a result of this misreading *kara* (ray, Skt) for *karang* (Jav.: groves in and around the compounds). The houses being completely hidden in the groves, the trees are the only visible feature of a Javanese dwelling-place when seen from a distance.

12—6—3: Ke: *nāgara çeṣa nneka*, with a note trying to explain the double *n*. *Naika*, *neka* (synonymous with *aneka*) makes good sense in this verse. The first *n* is the well-known particle. Kr note: *nagara*, m.c. The poet used the demonstrative *ikanang* three times in 12—6—1, 2, 3 to accentuate the fact that this last stanza of the description of the capital is a synopsis, v. comm.

12—6—4: Ke: *maṇḍalika*, m.c., v. comm.

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CHAPTER 3 — TRIBUTARIES  
AND NEIGHBOURS OF MAJAPAHIT

*Establishment of the Royal authority by emissaries  
taken from the ecclesiastical officers.*

*Cantos 13—16, 15 stanzas.*

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*Canto 13, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: pramuka.*

*13—1—4: Ke (p. 13): Tamihang.*

*Canto 13, stanza 2, verse 3: Kr note: lāwan, m.c.*

*13—2—4: Ke: Kuṣa Waringin, m.c.*

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*Canto 14, stanza 1, verse 3: Kr note: Sawahā, m.c.*

*14—1—4: Ke: mahapramuka ta(ng), m.c.*

*Canto 14, stanza 2, verse 1: C: sakahawan, mistake for: sakahawat,  
v. gl. Ke: pramuka tang Hujungmedinī.*

*14—2—2: Ke: Lēngkasuka.*

*14—2—3: Ke (p. 13): Nagor.*

*14—2—4: Ke: Kañjapinirān. Ke: sanāṣāpupul, m.c.*

*Canto 14, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: ya-waṇṇanēn. Emendation: ya  
tang waṇṇanēn.*

*14—3—2: Kr note: Bāli.*

*14—3—3: Ke: mahamuke, m.c.*

*Canto 14, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: nikalun.*

*14—4—3: Ke: pramuka.*

*Canto 14, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: Makasar.*

*14—5—2: Ke: i(ng) Salaya, m.c. C: mukar with indistinct h (?).  
Ke: Muar.*

*14—5—3: Ke: athawā.*

*14—5—4: aneka nāsa makes better sense than C's aneṅka nāsa.*

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*Canto 15, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Çri-narapati*.

15—1—2: Ke: *Dharimmanagari*

15—1—3: Ke: *Marutma*.

15—1—4: Ke: *Cāmpā*; Kr note: *Cāmpa*. Ke: *satata*. *Anyat* refers to Yawana.

*Canto 15, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *nāṣe*, m.c. Ke: *tanani kwir* (mistake). C's reading makes good sense. Prb's emendation of Ke's wrong reading restored the right reading of C.

15—2—2: Ke: *Yatwadharani rakwekana*, m.c.

15—2—3: Ke: *samudrānangung* and *Çakakālanya*, m.c., translated: "the Çākayear 4—1". Kr note: "a mistake for 1—4". C has the numbers 4—2—1, in Balinese script, written under the words; they make the date 124 Shāka, v. comm. *Nangung* (from *tanggung*) refers to two men carrying together a heavy load that is suspended on a pole they hold at the ends, hence *nangung* has the numerical value: two. Berg (R. p. 255) proposes to read: *samudrānanggang bhūmi Kēta*, to be translated: an ocean (of warriors) lay upon the country of Kēta, supposed to represent the date 1174 Shāka, i.e. 1252 A.D. This emendation is superfluous and moreover very doubtful. The meaning of *anunggang* (Berg's superfluous emendation for *ananggang*) is: to ascend, to mount, and the name of the district is Kēta, with a *t*, v. gl. *Kēta* means: such, precisely; it draws attention to the preceding word, v. gl.

15—2—4: Ke fails to translate *āpāntara* and *tatwanya*. Berg (R. p. 256 and 279) dismisses *āpāntara* as impossible.

*Canto 15, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke fails to translate *radha*; its meaning: to begin, to get ready to do a thing, makes good sense in this verse. *Dwāpa* refers to large countries, continents; it marks an opposition to the *nāṣapranāṣa* of 13—1—1 and the *deçāntara* of 15—1—1.

15—3—2: Prb proposes to read: *sahudhara*, connecting it with the expression: *soddhara haji* found in an ancient charter and in the Ferry Charter of 1358 A.D. (line 2 of plate 8 recto). This seems forced. *Pāhuḍama wijil* is to be emended: *bāhuwidha* (correct Skt: *bahuwidha*) *wijil*, which makes good sense in this verse (cf. 40—4—2: *sahana-hana wijil*).

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*Canto 16, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *bhujangga n-*.

16—1—2: Ke: *alaha*. The meaning of *jaga don* is: to fix one's eyes on a goal, which makes good sense in this verse. Ke's translation is confusing.

16—1—4: *Tanpa nasara* is the counterpart of *tan swang aleha*, both referring to the ecclesiastical officers. Erring Shiwaism (Ke's translation) is a metaphor that is inconceivable in Javanese.

Canto 16, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *bhujangga*. Iki in *sugatabrateki* refers to the fact that the poet himself was a Buddhist.

16—2—2: Ke: *hajyatuna sing sapārana nikā*. Ke's translation makes little sense. The best emendation is: *apitawin ajña hajya tan asing sapārana tika*.

16—2—3: Kr note: *hinilahilan*, m.c.

16—2—4: Skt *sambhawa* means: possibility, which makes good sense in this verse. The opposition between 16—2 (no Buddhists in the west) and 16—3 (Buddhism in Bali, east of Java) is clear.

Canto 16, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *Yawadharā*, m.c.

16—3—2: Ke: *parāna nikā*. Kr's reading: *sapārana nika* is better, cf. 16—2—2. Berg (R. p. 253): *parānana*, which seems forced.

16—3—3: Ke: *samaya*. Kr note: *Bharaḍa rakwa mapagēh*. Ke translates: Bharaḍa kept his vow, and Kr: at the time that; both doubtful. *Samaya*, rendered: covenant, is a religious term, v. comm. Berg (R. p. 253) translates: the agreement of the great monk Bharaḍa with the great noted monk Kuturan, as all of you know (or: as all of you will agree with me). *Rakwa* means: so it is said. The repeated use of *rakwa* and *karēngō* in cantos 15 and 16 accentuates the legendary character of the story. *Rakwa* expresses uncertainty by the -a; it is a derivate of *raku*, v. KBNW, cf. modern Jav. *ngaku*: to claim, to assert. Berg's translation: as you know, on the contrary, stresses the certainty; it is misleading.

16—3—4: Ke: *ika*. Berg (R. p. 253) overlooks that *lawan* in this verse, as in some other places, has the original meaning of: partner.

Canto 16, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *bhujangga* and *rasika*. *Rasika* is used substantively, it is rendered: their worships.

16—4—2: The meaning of *krama*: custom makes good sense in this verse. The best reading is with -a's: *mangulwana ngawetanākrama*.

16—4—3: Ke: *ring lumakwakēn* and *narapati*. C's *ning lumakwakēn* is better. Ke's translation of *saji-saji*: affability is a mistake. *Saji-saji* (modern Jav.: *sajen*: offering) means: what is held in readiness, which fits well in this verse, especially if it is taken in the sense of: provisions, victuals.

16—4—4: Ke translates *wiku* as: monk. On the question whether monasticism and celibacy flourished in Java v. the chapter on religion



in vol. IV. The best rendering of *wiku* seems to be: ordained priest, because ordination (*sangaskāra*, Skt: *saṃskāra*) of *wikus* is often mentioned (e.g. in the Tantu Panggëlaran).

*Canto 16, stanza 5, verse 1: Irika* refers to the preceding stanza.

16—5—2: Ke: *kapwa*.

16—5—3: Ke: *ājñālangghana*.

16—5—4: *Jaladhi* is the name of one of the *pangalasan*-companies of 9—1—4. The demonstrative *ikanang* refers to that place.

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## CHAPTER 4 — THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,

from Majapahit through the eastern districts of Java,  
and back to Singasari.

Cantos 17—38/3, 83½ stanza.

*Canto 17, stanza 1.* This stanza resumes the description of the King's greatness beginning in canto 15—3 with reference to the Archipelago. In canto 17 it is the turn of the districts of Java proper. The metre *jagaddhita*, mentioned at the end of 17-1-2, is the well-known Royal metre.

17—1—3: Ke's translation: glory and fame, is a mistake. *Yaça*, *kīrti* and *dharma* are religious and chancery terms, v. gl. The meaning of *para*: common people, is most clear in this verse. Ke did not recognize this Javanese *para*. The Skt *para* is found only in some compounds in the Nāg.: *parapurī* etc., v. gl.

17—1—4: *ring jagat*: in the world, often has the sense of: for the people's benefit, v. gl. *Akīrti* is ambiguous in this verse; the original, literal meaning: to win renown, also makes good sense.

*Canto 17—2—1*: Sentences (verses) beginning with: *gōngning*, and words to that effect, are to be translated by: how great! No other translation is as satisfactory, v. gl. Ke's translation: great is the power, is an approximation. Ke: *prabhu*, Skt spelling.

17—2—2: Ke: *suka*.

17—2—3: Ke: *kanyā sing* and *Kaḍiri*.

17—2—4: Ke: *āstām*.

*Canto 17, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *sasiki* and *narādhipa*.

17—3—2: Ke: *meuwuwu ng* and *mangidēri kanṭa*. Ke's translation of *kuwuning bala*: camps of troops, is a mistake, v. gl.

17—3—3: Ke: *salwir ning paranāsa* and *pinahasukenaris*; Kr note: *pinahāsukēnaris*, m.c.

17—3—4: Ke: *lwir udyāna* and *jinajahira*. -*Ira* certainly refers to the King, not to the public in general (Ke's translation).

*Canto 17, stanza 4, verse 2:* Ke: *Sima*. Kr note: *ing Jalagiri*, m.c. 17—4—3: Kr note: *ni sawung*, m.c. Ke's translation: festive gatherings is a mistake; the verse refers to cockfights, v. comm.

*Canto 17, stanza 5, verse 2:* Ke: *ālēngōng*, m.c. The translation: to admire makes good sense in this verse. Ke's translation: lovely is a mistake, v. gl.

17—5—3: Ke is in doubt about the translation of *marabangun*. *Lingga Marabangun* is the name of the place, v. comm.

*Canto 17, stanza 6, verse 1:* Ke: *prabhu*. To explain *tī* having the value: seven in this chronogram, which is unusual, Rouffaer (manuscript note Nāg.) refers to Muusses (O.V. 1922, p. 55, on an inscription of 1277 Śākā): *tī*, an abbreviation of *tithi*: date, hence: day, day of the week, seven.

17—6—2: *Pasir* means: sea in this verse and in some other verses of the Nāg. The usual meaning is: beach. In Balinese *pasih* means: sea.

*Canto 17, stanza 7, verse 1:* Ke: *ṣaṣāṅka* and *Bhādra*.

17—7—2: Ke: *sakendriyan*. Ke separates in his translation *sang* *Ṣṛi-rāja* from *sanāgarān* (and fails to translate *sanāgarān*). No doubt the Royal name *Rājasanāgara* is meant in this verse (cf. 67—1—4). *Sang* *Ṣṛi-rāja* is not a Royal title; at least one would expect: *sang* *Ṣṛi Nātha*, v. gl.

17—7—3: *Priya*, beloved, is a formal expression for: male consort, comparable to modern Jav. *kakung* (with the same literal meaning).

17—7—4: Ke: *sa Wilwatikta* and *kawirāja*. *Wiku-haji*, King's priest, is a high rank of ecclesiastical officers, v. 16—4—4. Probably King's priests were gentlemen of the clergy who were distinguished by the King. *Kawirāja*, on the other hand, is an epithet: king of poets; it is not a title. No doubt the combination of King's priests and kings of poets is intentional. It refers to the short biography of Prapañca in the next stanza: by birth he belongs to a family of Buddhist clergymen and he wants to be a poet like his father.

*Canto 17, stanza 8, verse 2:* In this verse Prapañca introduces himself as the son of a poet; that is why he uses some poetical expressions. Ke's translation of the last four words: "will be with pleasure followed by those who find delight in making poetry", is unidiomatic: some connection (*ing, ring*) between *dinulur* and *ananmateng* would be needed. Prapañca means to say he tries to succeed his father as a poet. It is to be noted that in this verse the honorific predicate *sang* is given by Prapañca to himself, which seems a little arrogant. As a member of a family of high rank he probably had a right to the predicate, though,

and in the play upon words: *sang kawī putra sang kawī* the reiteration of *sang* was essential.

17—8—3: Whereas the first two lines of stanza 8 refer to the poet himself the last two lines concern his father and his grandfather. Ke's translation: as superintendent of the Buddhists he succeeded his father, is unidiomatic. The high-class pronoun and predicate *sira* can only refer to the poet's father. It would be very bad form if Prapañca used it referring to himself. *Yayah* is a formal word for father (here rendered: Father); in this verse it must refer to Prapañca's father's father. As both Prapañca's father and his grandfather were Buddhist bishops they had a right to the high-class predicate *sira*.

17—8—4: Prapañca's grandfather is praised very highly. The last word: in the past, means that the old bishop was dead in 1365. This follows also from the fact that he was succeeded by his son, Prapañca's father.

Canto 17, stanza 9, verse 1: Ke: *rakawī'n. Rakawī*, rendered: honoured poet, is Prapañca's special title. The prefix *ra-* is demonstrative and honorific. KBNW *sub ra* mentions i.e. *ra Togog*, where *ra* is an equivalent of modern Jav. *si* and *pun*. Ke's rendering: poet laureate (38—3) gives Prapañca too much honour: his poems were not appreciated at Court (v. canto 95).

17—9—2: Ke: *kasannmata*. Ke's translation of *kasannmata*: allowed, is a mistake; *anannmata* means: to find delight in something.

17—9—4: *hetunya kamārṇya* is to be emended: *hetunya n amarṇya*; in Javanese script *k* and *n* are easily confounded. Prb's translation of *hetunya k amarṇya*: therefore I describe, is unidiomatic. The abridged form of the pronoun of the first person *k* (for *aku*) is unusual, v. gl. Ke: *sakamārggāngaran*. Kr note: *sakamārgga ngaran*, m.c.

Canto 17, stanza 10, verse 1: Ke: *tambe* and *winarṇya*. Ke's translation of *kuṭi*: hermitage, seems too literary. *Kuṭi* is a term of the Buddhist clergy; probably it was a hall or a cloister, less important than a *wihāra*, a Buddhist monastery.

17—10—2: Many of the following geographical names probably are corrupted as a consequence of the ignorance of Balinese scribes. The reconstructions of names are only tentatively. Ke: *Pāṇḍawādri* seems unnecessary. Ke: *i Kañci*.

17—10—3: Ke: *Ratnapangkaja, kuṭi Pangkaja*.

17—10—4: Ke: *Kuwu-hañar i samīpa*.

Canto 17, stanza 11, verse 1: Kr note: *ri Pañcaçāra*, m.c. Ke: *Kapulungan*.

17—11—2: Ke: *amēgil* and *Tira*.

17—11—3: Kr note: *marā*, m.c. Prb emends: *angganggēhnya* (right) and *marā pagēh* (which does not make sense). The best emendation of the verse seems to be: *angganggēhnya tēkaḥ bhaḥāra kuṭi ring Surayaḥ mapagēh cinarccakēn*. *Surayaḥ* is a well-known religious domain, v. gl. *Carcan* is a chancery term, rendered: Register, v. the chapter on the composition of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

17—11—4: Prb's translation is a great improvement on Ke's. The meaning of *nēlang* (from *sēlang*) in some dialects of modern Javanese: to borrow, makes good sense in this verse. The last words no doubt refer to the poet, not to the dependencies (Prb's translation), v. comm.

*Canto 18, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Ryy angkat*; yy v. gl.

18—1—3: Ke: *pekaning peka*. Prb translates: the servants of servants. Ke's translation: many serving-men is preferable: Ke mentions similar expressions from the Sutasoma kakawin (*hyang ning hyang, suraning sura*: 23b; *tawilning wwil*: 103a, 112a). In modern Javanese *desa ingadesa* still is in use. No doubt Prb is right in translating *padati* by: cart, v. gl. (Ke: foot-soldier).

18—1—4: Ke: *dudw ang*. In this and similar cases, at the beginning of sentences and verses, *dudu*, originally meaning: different, is to be translated: setting aside. Since *amēdēp* does not make good sense the emendation *amēdēk* (from *pēdēk*: near) is preferable.

*Canto 18, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *nistanyāsangkya tang syandana*, Skt spelling.

18—2—2: Ke: *ika dudū ring samantri samantri*.

18—2—3: Ke: *mantrinukyāpatih* and *praṇālēng*.

18—2—4: Ke: *pulupuluhan* and *neka*. *Pintēn* (and *pilih*, v. gl.) used in connection with a number mean: even as many as, or: about. *Māwan* does not make sense in this verse, it is to be emended: *kāwan*, modern Jav.: *sēkawan*: four (formal idiom). *Pulu-pulutan* (C's reading), modern Jav.: *pulutan*, the name of a plant, *Urena lobata*, makes good sense in this place, v. comm. Probably the poet used *iki*, this here, because the wagons of his father the Buddhist bishop belonged to the grand-vizir's group and had *pupulutan* marks.

*Canto 18, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *dīwaṣaṣṛī*, which does not make sense. The best emendation is: *handiwāṣṛī*; *handiwa* is a name of the sugar-palm, v. comm.

18—3—2: Ke: *ndan*.

18—3—3: Ke: *Dohācihna*. Kr note: *sadahakusuma*, which makes little sense. The original reading probably was: *sadak akusuma*: betel leaves with flowers, v. comm.

18—3—4: Ke: *mukyang sang Çri* and *samasamācihna*. Kr note deletes *sang*, a mistake of Ke's. *Mukya çri jīwanendrāsakaḥ* is the most sensible reading. Ke's note on *lobheng lēwih* is right; it is the name of a motive of decoration for painting, drawings or textiles, v. comm. Prb noticed in a Malat manuscript the forms *lobheng luhung* and *lobheng kaot*, with identical meanings, v. comm.

18—3—1, 2, 3, 4: Ke translates: the Princes of Pajang, Lasēm, Daha and Jīwana. This mistake has already been corrected by Krom; the Princesses are meant. In this stanza again the importance of the female members of the Royal family is apparent.

*Canto 18, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *prabhu sakaṣanirāsanghya*.

18—4—2: Ke: *rinēngga*. *Gringsing*, *lobheng lēwih*, *lāka* and *mās* refer to the decoration of the screens.

18—4—3: Ke: *nguniweli Içwarti*.

18—4—4: The original meaning of *sinang* seems to be: open, clear; the modern Javanese meaning: radiant, radiantly red, is secondary.

*Canto 18, stanza 5, verse 1*: Ke: *rinacana swarṇa ratna*.

18—5—2: Ke: *anṇat* and *lumrā*. *Sagala* is used only in this place in the Nāg.; it is rendered: entirely. *Matwa* (from *atwa*) means: open, uncovered. *Atawing*, translated by Ke: with curtains, does not fit well in this place, before *jampana*. Probably the original reading was: *awaking jampana*; *awaking* and *atawing* are easily confounded.

18—5—3: Ke: *kirṇeng*.

18—5—4: Ke: *āstām*. *Amatwa-matwa* is to be translated: vested with authority, v. 9—3—2. *Munggwing* does not mean: to ride (on horseback), v. comm.

*Canto 18, stanza 6, verse 1*: Ke: *Pañcuran* and *eñjing*. Prb is right in taking *Pañjuran Mungkur* for one name. C is unclear, both *Pañcuran* and *Pañjuran* might be read.

18—6—2: Ke: *katwy anim pang*, *Sawungan* and *wandhutwargga*.

18—6—4: Ke: *ḍatēng i* and *ring*, m.c.

*Canto 18, stanza 7, verse 1*: Ke: *mārgga koywanya*. Ke's and Prb's translation: situated at the border of the highway, is in contradiction with the preceding *asinpar*: out of the way. *Kaparēk* makes little sense in this verse; it is to be emended: *mamarēk*, v. comm. Prb links 18—7—1 up with 18—6—4; he identifies the out-of-the-way land with

Matañjung, which is improbable. The out-of-the-way lands are referred to by *pratyekanya* in 18—7—2.

18—7—2: *Tan adoh* and *tan madoh* as a rule refer to the preceding word, v. gl.

18—7—3: Ke: *kawisaya* and *mengēt*. Ke's translation does not make good sense. Prb is mainly right. The obedient dependencies of the abbey of Yānatraya welcomed their bishop and offered him food and drink, cf. the unfortunate experience of Prapañca mentioned in 17—11—4. No wonder the bishop was well pleased so shortly after the failure of his son. It is doubtful whether Yānatraya and Matañjung are to be identified, as Prb thinks; v. gl. sub Yānatraya.

Canto 18, stanza 8, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*.

18—8—2: Ke: *kāmukan*.

18—8—4: *wyāpāra* is to be emended: *wyāpāri*, v. gl. *byāpāri*: tradespeople. As usual *-ira* refers to the Royal family, and *iki* to the poet.

Canto 19, stanza 1, verse 1: *eñjing ry angkatira* refers to the morning of the departure from the camp.

19—1—2: Ke: *Kēḍung*, also m.c. Prb is right in reading: *sangkerika tang Kēḍung* instead of Ke's *sangkeri Katang*. Instead of *rame*: *rawe janapada* is to be read. *Rawe*: swamp, marsh, fits well in this place next to *kēḍung*: pool. Neither Ke's nor Prb's translation of *janapada* is satisfactory; the word is found only in this place in the Nāg. It must be a name. Any relation to the Dewarame of 23—1—4 seems improbable.

19—1—3: Prb's reading: *lēbuh nikāgēnēt*, and his translation of *agēnēt*: soft, fit well in this place.

19—1—4: Ke is right in reading *rathālaris*. As usual *adulur* is to be translated: in succession, i.e.: in single file.

Canto 19, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *dharmuna* and *prakaṣite*, m.c.

19—2—2: Ke: *nuttama*, m.c. *Anugraha bhāpati*, without connecting *i(ng)* between the words, is a compound, a chancery term, cf. *anugraha nareṣwara* (31—5).

19—2—3: Ke: *rinūpaka*. *Dumunung* means: to move into.

19—2—4: Ke reads: *andonḍok*, from *andon*: to stay, and *ḍok*: place, spot. Prb reads: *andondon*, "a frequentative of *andon*, meaning: to go for a walk" (better: to visit constantly, in order to perform some function). Probably *andondok* (and *dinondok* of 31—4—2, instead of the impossible *ḍanondok*) is to be connected with modern Jav. *dodok*:

a spy. It should be translated: to have a look at. Ke is right in explaining Trasungay from *tras*, *tēṇḍas*: head and *sungay*: river. In Javanese parlance the head of a river is its source. But then in this place Trasungay and Capahan no doubt are names of places.

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*Canto 20, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *haji*. Both Ke and Prb translate: 'Arriving in the Buddhist *deças*'. As no preposition is found either before *prāpta* or before *deça*, the meaning must be that the headmen of the *deças* came to pay homage to the King, v. comm.

20—1—2: Instead of *sadewi ṣiṣayeng*, which is corrupt, *sadeça wiṣayeng* is to be read.

20—1—4: Kr note reads: *kuṭi ri Mungguh kapwa tōsraṅ marēk*, m.c. Ke in his translation overlooks *mungguh*.

*Canto 20, stanza 2, verse 1*: *rowang* means: fellow, companion.

20—2—2: Ke: *Ratnapangkaja hane Carcean kabhukty āpatēh. Bhukti* as a chancery term means: "meal of the writ", hence evidence, proof. Neither Ke nor Prb recognized it.

20—2—3: Ke did not see that *pabalas* is a numeral. Prb: *tang pabalas*, translated: fourteen. Kr note reads: *tang sabalas*: eleven, which is the correct number.

20—2—4: Ke: *bhuktinyan pinakāryya*. On *bhukti* v. 20—2—2.

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*Canto 21, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *kahawan*.

21—1—2: Kr note: *ring Raṇwakuning*, m.c.

21—1—3: Ke: *lāwan ring*, m.c. The last name of 21—1—2 probably is *Baru-bara*; the *i* that causes the reading *Baru-bara* would belong to *Ḍawōhan*. This passing over from one verse to the next one is exceptional.

*Canto 21, stanza 2, verse 1*: *Pasawahan*, meaning: place of rice-fields, must be a geographical name.

21—2—2: Ke: *jālādhipa*, m.c., and *Paḍali*. Prb reads *jaladhi Patalap*, translated: the sea (or rather: the lake) Patalap. The metre requires *jālādī*, though, and Skt *jaladhi* does not convey the meaning lake in the Nāg. Perhaps the reading: *prāpteng Jālār ḍi Patalap* is the best, *ḍi* being used in order to avoid a double *r*. On *ḍi* v. gloss.

21—2—3: Kr note: *lāwan*, m.c.

21—2—4: Ke: *udadhi*, Skt spelling.

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*Canto 22, stanza 1, verse 2*: Kr note: *rata-ratā*, m.c. Prb reads: *magñēt inambah ing ratha*, adding one short syllable after *magñēt*, as the metre requires.

22—1—3: Ke: *sarasiṣa*, Skt spelling, and *paḍāsēkar*.

*Canto 22, stanza 2, verse 1*: *masurawayan*, modern Jav. *srawean*, means: to wave hands, which fits well in this place. The sea and the lake are represented as friendly neighbours.

22—2—2: Kr note: *ḍatang ri Wēḍi Guntur*, m.c. Prb translates *asñēt*: rested, Its usual meaning: retired makes good sense in this place.

22—2—3: Ke: *Bajrakāṅga* and *cinarccakēn*, m.c. Prb corrects Ke's translation very aptly.

22—2—4: Kr note: *ing bala*, m.c. *Kasēlang* means: borrowed, v. comm.

*Canto 22, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *yateka*.

22—3—2: the meaning of *kṣaṇa* in the Nāg. idiom seems to be: after some time, v. gl.

22—3—3: Ke: *hinalintang*; Prb: *humalintang*. It seems preferable to read: *bhawiṣyati halintang*, because only the formations *halintang*, *hinalintangan* and *kahalintangan* are recorded in the Nāg., v. gl.

*Canto 22, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *sakṣaṇa*, Skt spelling.

22—4—2: Ke: *mamēnamēng* (by mistake) and *anglēngör*. Prb's reading *anglēngöng* is better.

22—4—3: Ke: *sahniri* (by mistake) and *nawilāsa*, because of Skt.

22—4—4: Ke translates *karang*: coral-polyps. No doubt Prb is right in translating: rocks.

*Canto 22, stanza 5, verse 1*: Ke: *rakawi*.

22—5—2: Ke: *anguttara* and *Tumbu*.

22—5—3: Ke: *anganty amēgil*.

22—5—4: Ke: *narendra* and *amogha*. The usual meaning of (a)-*mogha*: thereupon, so, thus, makes good sense in this place, v. Zoetmulder, *Ādiparwa*.

*Canto 23, stanza 1, verse 2*: Kr note: *Paḍangan lawan Sēcang*, m.c.

23—1—3: Ke: *kkahawan*.

23—1—4: Ke: *anguttareng*.

*Canto 23, stanza 2, verse 2*: Ke: *prabhu saksanānlaku*.

23—2—3: Ke: *ḍatēng ta* — *ngsīl*, with note: one syllable short. Muusses (O.V. 1923, p. 36) reads: *ḍatēng tan ongsīl wuwitan*, which

seems unidiomatic. After *ḍatēng* one expects *ri(ng)* or *ing*. Therefore in this place one should read: *ḍatang ri Tangsil*. *Tangsil* is a likely name for a locality.

23—2—4: Ke translates: they came into a deep ravine. *Jurang ḍalēm* must be a geographical name. Deep is *adalēm*, v. gl.

Canto 23, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *hawaan*; he translates: then the road went northward. The meaning of *dug* is: at the time that.

23—3—2: Ke: *sandēngandēng*. Prb: *durggamārupēk*.

23—3—3: Ke translates: as a consequence of the rain. The usual meaning of *lunud*: to follow, makes good sense in this place.

Canto 24 is a string of puns, by assonance, on the names of places. Prb saw that, but he did not translate them satisfactorily. Kern did not see the puns, his translations miss the point.

24—1—1: Prb is right in reading: *awarṇnānglayang*.

24—1—2: Ke: *warana*; *parana* makes good sense. Prb fails to translate *mamēgil ḍighra lunaris*.

24—1—3: Ke: *prāptā*, m.c.

24—1—4: Prb: *rabad* is modern Jav. *grēbēd*, the noise of a marching crowd. The identification and the translation seem doubtful. Better reading: *Surabha* (76—4—3 a Buddhist domain of that name is mentioned) *sarabhasa ng wawang anging*.

Canto 24, stanza 2, verse 1: This is the only place in the Nāg. where the original Jav. word for sun: *ngwai*, is used. *Manda* is rendered: bad sight.

24—2—2: Ke: *ri sandhyāḍḍēgnyāḍḍēl*. *Caḍḍyan* (from *caḍḍi*, monument) is the name of a place. *Ḍḍēl* is related to modern Jav. *ḍḍḍēl*: to have difficulty in getting through an opening.

24—2—3: Ke: *nguttara*, m.c.

24—2—4: Kr note: *ring*, m.c. Ke: *paḍḍtryangkanya*. The usual meaning of *asru* in the Nāg.: brisk, spirited, fits well in this place.

Canto 25, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *tanngēh* and *ḍḍulur*, m.c.

25—1—2: Ke: *ḍḍupul*, m.c.

25—1—3: Prb thinks that *Tālākṛēp* is a name.

25—1—4: Ke fails to translate *irika*. *Pakuwwan* might be a name.

Canto 25, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *amañcanagaromunggw*, m.c. *Amañcanagara* is a chancery term, v. comm.

25—2—2: On *pasanggulan*, exalted title, v. 10—1—2. Probably

*adhyakṣa*, superintendent, lost its initial *a* because it was put on a par with the *a* of *apatih* etc. *Dhyakṣa*, in modern Jav. *jaksa*, became the usual term for judge.

25—2—3: Ke: *ācāryyottarānōpama*, Skt spelling. *Anōpama*, peerless, is the well-known epithet. Remarkable is the spelling *hupapatti*, probably adopted in this place to make *sang* metrically long by position. This points to a similar relation to the *h* at the beginning of a word as is found in modern Javanese. The idiom of some contemporaneous charters, not issued by the Royal chancery, shows the same indifference for the *h*. As a rule, though, in the Nāg. and other works belonging to Court literature, initial *h*'s are not placed indiscriminately. The spelling *hupapatti* makes it doubtful whether the *h* at the beginning of a word still was pronounced distinctly in the Majapahit period, even at Court. It is possible, of course, that 25—2—3 is corrupt, but it seems difficult to make a plausible emendation.

25—2—4: Ke: *mapañji* and *kawi*. The expression *wruh kawi* is found also in the mythological poem *Bhomakāwya* (ed. Teeuw, canto 13, stanza 11). Ke's translation: clever as a poet, a clever poet, is not in accordance with the Nāg. idiom. In modern Jav. *kawi* means: poetical idiom, and this translation fits well in the expression *wruh kawi*.

Canto 26, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mukyādhipating* and *sangng*, m.c.

26—1—3: Ke: *paḍa* and *tuṣṣa*. *Hatur-hatur* is a chancery term: a present as homage.

Canto 26, stanza 2, verse 1: *Laryya-laryyan* is a derivation of *lari*: to proceed; it is rendered: footpath, v. comm. The usual meaning of *manēngah*: towards the centre, i.e. in this case: into the sea, makes good sense in this place.

26—2—2: Ke: *weçmāneka*, Skt spelling. Prb is probably right in interpreting *kikis* as the name of some kind of wattle-work made of plaited bamboo. The usual meaning of *tap*, *atap*: to roof, fits well in this place. Perhaps a special kind of roofing, made of leaves, is meant. *Nāṣan* is an artificial islet, cf. modern Jav. *pulon*, derived from *pulo*, island.

26—2—3: Ke: *mārgganyeki* and *awarṇṇengguh*. *Lantaran* probably is the name of the poles supporting the structure that was built over the sea, v. comm.

26—2—4: Ke notes: the verse is two syllables short. Prb's reading: *yekā kīrti* seems plausible. The scribe's omission was caused by the

preceding *ryyak* and the following *kīrti*: three *k*'s. On the meaning of *kīrti* v. comm. The usual meaning of *towi*: also, too, makes good sense in this verse. *Pasēnaha* is a chancery term, v. comm. It is a corruption of Skt *saṃnāha*: bond, link.

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*Canto 27, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *tikṣṇa*, Skt spelling.

27—1—2: Ke: *sākṣāt dewatā-dewatā*, m.c. and Skt spelling.

27—1—3: Ke: *Apsarī 'n*, Skt spelling.

27—1—4: Ke: *kleṣa hiḍḍpnikang* and *fibra*, Skt spelling. The usual meaning of *kawēngan*: marveling, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 27, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *narendrākasukān*; Kr note corrects: *narendra kasukan*, m.c.

27—2—2: *Pradeṣa* in the Nāg. seems a collective of *deṣa*: districts.

27—2—3: Ke: *bāryyan kārakṣtan* and *umalat* (a mistake). *Rakṣt* and *çrama* are names of dances and games, v. comm.

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*Canto 28, stanza 1, verse 3*: Ke: *ri Balambangan andēlan*. Prb takes *Andēlan* for a name; probably he is right.

28—1—4: Ke: *sa-Yawakṣiti*, Skt spelling, and *apupul*.

28—2—1: *Masirasiran* is a derivation of *sira(n)*; it is to be rendered: trying to outdo each other.

28—2—2: Ke: *sōk*.

28—2—3: Ke: *wastra* and *asusun*; *hasusun* is a mistake of a scribe who did not mind his *h*'s; v. note on *hupapatti*, 25—2—3.

*Canto 28, stanza 3, verse 2*: *Dadar* is a Court term for a present (textile), v. comm.

28—3—3: Ke: *parakawi sinungan*. *Milu*, to join, to take part in, is to be connected with the following verb, in this case: *sinungan*. *Parakawi* refers i.c. to the poet Prapañca; the same in 98—1—1, v. note on 7—3—2.

28—3—4: Ke: *tuṣṭa tihang paramojana ngalēm*. C's reading makes good sense, only *kang* is to be intercalated.

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*Canto 29, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *siwuhēn*.

29—1—3: Ke: *asahing*. Prb's reading, following C: *asik*, makes good sense. *Ing dulur* makes better sense than *angdulur*.

29—1—4: Ke: *āmalyani*. The usual meanings of *mālyani*: to appraise, *kīrti*: praiseworthy, valuable work, and *tēngōi*: to keep, to

put into keeping, make good sense in this verse. Prb's translation of *tinumbas* (bought): he died, is most unusual.

*Canto 29, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *cittangkwi rasika'n* and *mahasahas*.

29—2—2: *Nyāma* means: in order to. Ke's translation: for, because, is a mistake.

29—2—3: *Ngānin mātya* is the same as *ngāni-ānin mātya*. *Ngāni-ānin*, followed by a word in the "uncertainty-form" (suffix -a) is to be rendered: let bygones be bygones, let it be considered as a thing of the past. *Ngāni* means: in the past. The usual meanings of *jēmah*: in the future, and of *sisip*: miss the mark, make good sense in this place. *Iking lara*, this pain, refers to life in this world. *Mahalalu* (not mentioned in KBNW), a derivation of *lalu*: passed, is to be rendered: to regard as a thing of the past. Modern Jav. *mīlalu mati* means: to resign oneself to death.

29—2—4: Ke: *māti* and *anahasā* (a mistake). The usual meaning of *salahasa*, *analahasa*, modern Jav.: *nlangsa*: to regret, to bewail, fits well in this place. *Nghulun* is the usual pronoun of the first person in the Nāg., v. gl. *hulun*.

*Canto 29, stanza 3, verse 2*: Ke: *pacarān* (a mistake for *Pacaron*).

29—3—3: Kr note: *Walaṇḍingan anujwi*, m.c.

*Canto 30, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *rīntar*.

30—1—2: Ke: *npanganti*.

30—1—3: Ke: *ng jalanidhi*, m.c. *Amarṇṇa* means: to describe, v. comm.

30—1—4: *Ginōng twas* is used in several places in the Nāg. Probably it is related to modern Jav. *ngugung*: to indulge.

*Canto 30, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *mantri Kēṣa paḍamarēk āyyam*. Kr note: *paḍa marēk nāyyam*. Probably the original reading is: *paḍa marēk nāmya sājnā*. *Kwehning* at the beginning of a sentence is to be rendered: how many...!

30—2—2: Ke: *Wiraprāṇādhi nika*; Kr note: *sang Čaiwa*, m.c.

30—2—3: Ke: *sēk*.

*Canto 31, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Kēṣā*, with note: the following caesura makes the *a* metrically long. A simpler explanation of the long *a* is to assume that the next word is *amēwēh*, v. gl.

31—1—2: Ke: *ika kāhawan*.

31—1—4: Ke: *Gēbang Krpīgēlam*. Prb's reading: *Gēbang Krēp*,

*i Gġlam* is probably right. The usual meaning of *kāryya*, modern Jav. *gawe*: ceremony, fits well in this place.

*Canto 31, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *apagġh*.

31—2—2: C does not contain any indication that the deceased was a woman. Perhaps Ke is right, though, in translating the verse in that sense, v. comm.

31—2—3: Ke: *adhika*. The usual meaning and construction of *nimitta*: motive, make good sense in this place. *Kāryya haji*, without *ning* between the words is a compound, rendered: Royal ceremony.

31—2—4: Kr note: *ing*, m.c. *Prasiddha* in the Nāg. is an officiating priest, a celebrant, v. gl.

*Canto 31, stanza 3, verse 1*: *Wiḍi-wiḍāna* are offerings, v. comm.

31—3—2: *Upabhoga-bhojana* are cloths and food, v. comm.

31—3—3: Ke: *sanggha sagiri*. Kr note: *sagiri*, m.c. Prb: *mangiring*. The reading: *magirang*: in high spirits, seems the best. It fits in with the sense of the following verse. *Amātya* is not to be identified with *patih*, as both Ke and Prb do. *Amātyagaṇa* and *sāmyasangghya* are opposites. *Amātya* refers to the upper class of society, *sāmya* to the lower class.

31—3—4: Ke: *dina*; it means in this place: daylight, like *rahina* (55—3—1). *Mērdangga* is to be rendered: pot-bellied ceremonial drum, v. Kunst-Goris on musical instruments. *Paḍaha* is a common conical drum.

*Canto 31, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *Narendra* and *seṣṭa*, m.c.

31—4—2: Ke: *dhanondok*, with note: corrupt. On *ndondok* v. note on 19—2—4.

31—4—4: Ke: *kanyānulus*, Skt spelling. Probably in this verse *ulih* means: prize brought home from an expedition, cf. modern Jav. *oleh-oleh*.

*Canto 31, stanza 5, verse 2*: Ke: *Kēbwan-agġng* and *Kāmbang-rarwi*.

31—5—3: Ke: *ṣobhāhalēp*.

31—5—4: Ke: *anugraha nareṣware* and *Nālādhika*, m.c. *Nāla* is the name, *adhika* is an epithet.

*Canto 31, stanza 6, verse 1*: Ke: *nikānindita*. Ke translates: *hatur-hatur i sang patih*: what was offered to the *patih*. No doubt Prb is right in pointing out that *hatur-hatur* presents only can be offered by persons of inferior rank to their superiors; therefore in this place the *patih* is the giver and the King the receiver.

31—6—2: Ke: *narendra*. Ke translates *panaḍah* by: gift. It means: repast, as Prb already remarked.

31—6—3: Ke: *Barurang*. Kr is right in observing that C has *Barongrang* with an extra *u* written under the first *r*. This *u* is meant to serve as *athetesis*. The scribe had to write *Barang*, but he wrote *Barong*. He eliminated the second syllable by making it unintelligible by means of the *u* (*r* with two vowels at the same time), and he put the right *rang* after it. The right reading, also metrically right, is *Barang*. Pātūñjungon, m.c.

31—6—4: Ke: *anuntēn*.

*Canto 32, stanza 1, verse 2: Makutu-hutu* is to be rendered: have a bivouac. *Kutu* is: manor.

32—1—3: *Wiku haji*: Royal priest, is a high rank in the clergy; *utama* is the well-known epithet.

32—1—4: Ke: *paḍa kasukan*, m.c.

*Canto 32, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke* translates *Sāgara kēta*: called *Sāgara*. *Kēta* only lays stress on the preceding word or words; it is to be rendered: precisely, proper, v. comm. Perhaps *Mūla-Sāgara*, i.e. Old-Sāgara of 78—7—1 is meant.

32—2—2: Ke translates *pakalyan*: mine, thinking of Malay *penggalian*: digging or quarry. No doubt Prb is right in connecting *pakalyan* with *kali*, river, v. comm.

32—2—3: Ke note: instead of *maṇḍala hikang* is to be read: *maṇḍala tikang*. In fact *tikang* is used in several places after a vowel to avoid hiatus, v. gl. Both Ke and Prb translate: district of Gēḍe. *Maṇḍala* is also in this place a sacred ring community. The usual meaning of *samāntara*: after some time, and of *dumunung*: to move into, to stay with, make good sense in this verse.

32—2—4: Ke: *ing wanādri*, m.c. C's and Prb's reading *wanāḍri*, though making good sense, is metrically impossible.

*Canto 32, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: narendra*, m.c. The usual meanings of *angapi*: to care for, to take notice of, and of *langö*: charm, beauty, fit well in this verse.

The verses from 32—3—2 to 32—4—2 are filled with alliterations to voice the poet's admiration. Hence the meaning is sometimes unclear.

32—3—2: Ke: *lalita*, m.c. *Lulwi* is rendered: reckless. Probably the word is related to *tulwi*, *tuluy*, modern Jav. *tuli*, original meaning:

through, thorough. *Lalu*: passing, excessive, is to be read instead of *lala*, which does not make sense. Ke's translation of *lala*: merry, founded on Skt *lalati*: to play, is to be discarded. *Menēh* (from *inēh*) perhaps is to be rendered: pensive; its meaning is not quite clear.

32—3—3: Ke's translation of *tamtam*, indulging, is better than Prb's (quiet). The original meaning of *ataki-taki* seems to be: to strive, to make efforts. Philosopher and anchorite are secondary meanings. Ke is right in connecting *tuturnika n tut i tatā*. The meaning of this verse seems to be that the poet freed himself from duty in order to enjoy the beauty of the hermitage.

32—3—4: *jañjan* and *cinaracara*. The meaning of *jañjan* seems to be: trifling, just anyhow. On *cara-cara* v. gl.

Canto 32, stanza 4, verse 1: *Tēpas* is found only in this place in the Nāg., v. comm.

32—4—2: Ke: *secchā*, Skt spelling. Prb is right in translating *cacahan* by relief, cut in stone. The usual meaning of *racana*: ornament, makes good sense in this place.

32—4—3: Ke: *parab*, m.c.

32—4—4: Ke: *sinamarsamar*, m.c. Ke suggests that *pañcāṅkṣara* refers to the name *Prapañca*. Prb's explanation is better, v. comm.

Canto 32, stanza 5, verse 1: *Bwat-rantēn*, *bot-rawi* is to be rendered: constructed pond, tank. Prb is right in translating *paṭiga* by: balustrade, parapet, v. 8—2—2. On *inasaban* v. comm.

32—5—2: Ke: *tiranika*. The usual meaning of *tira*: shore, bank, fits well in this verse, and so does *parigi*: slope, sheeted with cobbles, v. comm.

32—5—3: Ke: *andung karawira* and *mēnār caracaranya*. Kr note corrects: *andwang karawira* in accordance with C.

32—5—4: Ke: *awwah i padūnya n-*.

Canto 32, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *wanāçrama*.

32—6—2: Ke: *paḍa*. *Ugra* is translated: severe by Ke, and: sublime by Prb. It is best rendered: impressive, v. comm.

32—6—3: *Wagēd* seems to mean: skilful in the Nāg. idiom, v. comm.

32—6—4: Ke: *Çivapada*. Ke translates *mihat*: looking at. *Mihat* in this verse is: excellent; probably it is related to modern Jav. *miyatani*: effective, potent. *Bangun*: shape, and *hvir*: aspect, might be rendered: like, resembling, as if, in several places in the Nāg. In the present edition it is thought preferable to translate those words literally, though.



*Canto 33, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *mahas ring ācrama*, m.c.

33—1—2: Ke translates *sang mahārṣi mapalinggih*: the sitting *Mahārṣis*. *Mahārṣi* is the title of the Head of the hermitage or friary, rendered: prior, and *mapalinggih*, occupying the see, is an epithet.

33—1—3: *Asung*, to present, is used intentionally instead of *hatur*, ceremonial offering to a superior, because the King was no more than a guest at the friary, v. comm.

33—1—4: Ke: *kasukan*.

*Canto 33, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *gumuyitang*, m.c. *Gumuyite* is better, because it contains an indication (i) of the following object.

33—2—3: Ke: *acangkramalēngēng asing halangwan*. Kr note corrects: *halangōn* in accordance with C. Both forms are found in the Nāg., v. gl.

33—2—4: Ke: *kawēngan*.

*Canto 33, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *sutapan*.

33—3—2: Ke: *hēlahēlā*, m.c.

33—3—3: Ke: *paḍa*, m.c.

33—3—4: Ke: *mabañcana* and *akūng*. *Mamañcana* is a good reading, v. KBNW.

*Canto 34, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra* and *sāksēka ng ācramoruk*, m.c.

34—1—2: Ke: *pringnyākuṅgēh*. C: *abēh* makes good sense, it is modern Jav. *abuh*: swollen.

34—1—4: Ke: *angluh*, m.c.

*Canto 34, stanza 2, verse 1*: Prb: *asrēg*. *Asrēt*, modern Jav. *sērēt*, stiff(ly), rough(ly) (working), in this case: jolting, fits well in this verse.

34—2—2: Ke: *kamārgga*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 34, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *amañcanagarī*, m.c.

34—3—2: Ke: *para*, m.c.

34—3—3: Ke: *kapwāhatur*, m.c.

34—3—4: Ke: fails to translate *nāma*; the original meaning of *nāma*: name, makes good sense in this verse, v. comm.

*Canto 34, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke translates: rather long. The usual meaning of *ardha* is: very.

34—4—2: *Sakutu-kutu* in this verse refers to a plurality of *kuwu* (manors), not to a plurality of *kuwu-kuwus* (camps), as Ke trans-

lated it. The meaning of *lolya* (*lawlya*) seems to be: absorption.

34—4—4: Ke: *bāny*, corrected by Kr note: *ngāny*.

*Canto 35, stanza 1, verse 2*: Ke translates *ḍamārgga*: highway. Probably it was a road over a dyke where the carts could proceed only one after another. In Sundanese *dērēmaga* is a dam or dyke.

35—1—3: Ke: *Kēḍung-pēluk*. Kr note: *nikanang*, m.c.

35—1—4: Ke translates *rājadharma*: Royal residence. The usual meaning of *dharma*: religious domain, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 35, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *kunang*. In the Nāg. *kunang* is often used at the beginning of a sentence, meaning: concerning, as to; *kunēng* as a rule is used as an enclitic particle after a word, meaning: indeed, v. gl. Ke's mistake in translating *kutwan* was corrected by Krom, note.

35—2—2: Kr note: *ri ḍarbaru*, m.c. Ke: *bhāh*, Skt spelling, and *pradeṣe Hujung*, m.c.

35—2—3: Ke: *sthāpaka*. Berg (R. p. 265) suggests that the *angṣa punṣunan* are not lands but manuscripts. The meaning of *angṣa* is clear, v. gl.

35—2—4: Berg translates: among the manuscripts that were shown (by a connoisseur?) was a fine specimen. Skt *rasika*, translated connoisseur, is nowhere found in Javanese texts. On the Jav. *rasika* v. gl. "Fine specimen" is not a correct translation of *supraṣṭi*.

*Canto 35, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *ikang i lēpit*, translated: what was in the folded leaves. A folded leaf would be: *lēpitan*. Prb is right in taking *Hēpit* for the name of one of the possessions of the cloister. Probably *Hapit* (meaning: situated between two others) was the original name of the locality. Berg thinks *yathāsua* does not make sense; he reads *yathārtha*. On *sua* as a noun v. gl. and KBNW, and on Berg's translation v. comm. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw's emendation *yathākwa* seems unnecessary, v. comm. *Yathāsua salībak-wukirnya wiṣayāngṣa* looks like a quotation from the charter.

35—3—2: Kr note: *sawah ikang Balunghura*, m.c. *Iheng* is a better reading. Ke, Prb and Berg translate: partly in Markaman; Uhlenbeck-Teeuw: the other half in Markaman. The usual meaning of *satēngah*: one half of a whole, makes good sense in this verse.

35—3—3: Ke: *rasanikang*, a mistake, metrically impossible. Ke: *pura*. Berg by his translation creates an opposition between the "folded leaves" (*lēpit*) and the "document", v. comm.

35—3—4: Ke: *purākṛta*. Neither Ke nor Prb recognized Skt *purākṛta*: work done in former times, i.e.: merit acquired in a former incarnation. The usual meaning of *daridra*: indigent, makes good sense in this verse. Berg (R. p. 157) translates: but not having done (enough good) works in a former incarnation he did not have the good fortune to be able to retire into a monastery, and that monastery: Darbaru. The latter part of Berg's translation is arbitrary. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw's translation: he would have made for the *kuṣi*, is founded on the false supposition that Prapañca was a powerful bishop at the time he wrote the Nāg., v. comm.

Canto 35, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *mangkat huuus*, a mistake, corrected by Kr note. Ke: *nira Mpu* and *bhawisyalaris*. *Anglaris* is not used in the Nāg. *Karapa ni* means: because of. Prb's translation: therefore, is incorrect. Berg (R. p. 157) arbitrarily interpolates some words in his translation: because he now had a reason to make haste.

35—4—2: Ke: *kasewakan*, Skt spelling, and *Singhasūri*. Berg (R. p. 157) offers a very free translation: and in order to report as soon as he was back in the service. The meaning of *matutur* is not: to report, but: mindful (of his duty). The sequence *manangkil marēk*: (first) being in waiting, (then) entering into the Presence is noteworthy.

35—4—3: Ke's suggestion that the ceremony in Singasari was a thanksgiving for the safe return home has no foundation in the text.

35—4—4: Ke: *Kṣṇung-Biru ri hasurāngganān*, m.c. and Skt spelling.

Canto 36, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Singhasūri*, m.c. *Krama* is to be rendered: in due time: the original meaning is: in (good) order, v. gl.

36—1—3: Ke: *sopacāra*, m.c. Ke did not recognize *puṣpa*: flower-offering. Prb did.

36—1—4: Ke and Prb: *paḍa magarjita ng wuwang*. *Paḍaha*, drum, fits well in this place, v. gl. *Wawan* is a carrier, bearer or platter for sacred objects; it is often mentioned.

Canto 36, stanza 2, verse 1: *Akrama* is rendered by: in the usual order. In modern Jav. *krama* means i.a.: formal, ceremonial speech.

36—2—2: Ke: *Ḍaiwa*. Ke: *nāligih*, with note: corrupt, one syllable too much. Kr (note) thought that *nāligih* contains the name Nāla. Prb's emendation: *sang ārya linggih i hiring* no doubt is right. Prb's translation putting the common *wikus* on a par with the *āryas* is wrong, though. Just as elsewhere there was only one *ārya*, v. comm. Here

(*ika*) draws attention to the special circumstances in Kagēnēgan, v. comm.

36—2—4: The usual meaning of *sambhawa*: possibility, possible, makes good sense in this verse.

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*Canto 37, stanza 1, verse 2*: Ke: *dwārāṭiṣobhita samekale*, m.c., and *nikāparimita*. On *mekala* and *yawa* v. comm.

37—1—3: *Tinumpa-tumpa* means: terraced, v. gl. *Ri tēpi*: at the sides, refers to the buildings (*yaça*), as distinct from the temple-tower (*prāsāda*) in the centre.

37—1—4: Ke reads instead of *nāhikusuma*: *nāgakusuma*, i.e. Michelia champaka, *nagasari*. Prb's emendation *ahikusuma* is metrically impossible.

*Canto 37, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *prāsāda*, Skt spelling, and *i tēngah asmu*, m.c.

37—2—2: Ke: Shiwa's abode is not on mount Meru but on mount Kailāsa. The usual meaning in the Nāg. idiom of *pratiṣṭa*: divine abode, statue, fits well in this verse.

37—2—3: *iṣṭi* in this place refers to worship, devotion, cf. *inīṣṭi* (1—1—4), Skt *iṣṭadevatā*.

37—2—4: Ke: *kinabhaktyan ing sabhuwana*, m.c.

*Canto 37, stanza 3, verse 1*: In this place *pratiṣṭa* and *dalēm* have the original meanings: abode and deep, v. comm.

37—3—2: Ke: *baṭra*, m.c. Kr note: *nika*, m.c. *Batang*, originally meaning: forecast, is to be rendered: plan, intention. Berg's remarks on the meaning of *batang* (R. p. 230) are worthy of note.

37—3—3: Ke: *ri*, m.c. *Ḍangka turunan* is rendered: crypt by Ke and Prb. Perhaps *pit* is a better rendering.

37—3—4: Ke: *sanggar ika*. On the meaning of *sanggar*, v. comm. The usual meaning of *atilah* seems to be: ordered according to rank.

*Canto 37, stanza 4, verse 1*: Instead of *nang lor batur*, which does not make good sense. *lor ning batur* is to be read.

37—4—2: Ke: *tang i natarnya masmy*. Prb: *len tang i natarnya masmy*. C's reading *len tang i natar mas(ē)my* makes good sense. The usual meaning of *jrah*: spread, fits well in this verse.

37—4—3: Kr note: *ikanang*, m.c.

37—4—4: Ke: *natarnya* and *dukutēn*, corrected by Kr: *sukētēn*. *Dukut* is a good reading, v. gl.

*Canto 37, stanza 5, verse 1*: Ke: *angranuhi*, corrected by Kr:

*angranñhi*. Probably *cawiri*, *cawintēn* is the name of some tree or plant, cf *camara*.

37—5—2: Prb: *romāwura* (*roma*: hair). C's reading *mora* (from *ura*: loose) makes good sense. Ke: *kapawanan*, Skt spelling. *Oli* is to be rendered: changing, inconstant. *Tan hanoli* means: nothing else, not otherwise.

37—5—3: Ke: *tapasnikā pucangnya*. *Pucang* in this verse means fruit in general; it refers to the ivory coconut. The *cawiri*, *cāmara*, coco-palm and bamboo are given one line each.

37—5—4: Ke: *tanaryy akusikan*.

*Canto 37, stanza 6, verse 1*: Ke: *angras* and *kawēnang*, m.c. Ke's translation does not make good sense. Prb reads: *mahoṣadhanya*, derived from *uṣadha*. The reading *taya mahoṣadhanya wēnanga* seems more idiomatic than the other readings. The Royal name Hayam Wuruk written in margine by some Balinese reader draws attention to the fact that 37—6—2 is the only place in the Nāg. where the King's personal name is mentioned. The consecration name Rājasanāgara is mentioned several times, v. glossary.

37—6—3: Ke: *uttamānukani*, Skt spelling. The alliteration in honour of the King makes the meaning obscure.

37—6—4: Ke: *atpada*, Skt spelling, and *ing manēmu*, m.c., corrected by Kr note: *lanāwēlas manēmu*.

*Canto 37, stanza 7, verse 3*: Ke: *ṣinawimba*, Skt spelling.

37—7—4: Ke: *Singhasāri*, m.c. *Alēh* means: to dislike, to disdain, modern Jav. *lumuh*.

*Canto 38, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *nikā(ng)* and *abiru*.

38—1—2: Ke: *rinacana*.

38—1—3: Ke: *iha len husuma*.

*Canto 38, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *langōnika*, m.c.

38—2—2: Ke: *arēka*.

38—2—3: Ke: *ahijo*, m.c.

38—2—4: The ravines (*jurang*) are compared to waves (Prb's interpretation).

*Canto 38, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke fails to translate *yaya*: yet.

CHAPTER 5 — NOTES ON THE KINGS  
OF THE HOUSE OF RAJASA,

from 1182 till 1343, and on their religious domains.

Cantos 38/3—49, 47½ stanzas.

Canto 38, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: *rakawi ywa*, m.c.

38—3—4: Ke: *ring*. Prb's emendation: *gotra saphala dunungën* makes good sense. *Tuwi*, rendered: too, refers to the preceding word, not to the following one, v. gl. The usual meaning of *gotra*: family, fits well in this verse.

Canto 38, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *ing çaçi*, m.c. Ke: *sahasra*, Skt spelling.

38—4—2: Ke: *satya*. Kr note: *kadang haji çuci suyaca*, m.c., on account of *çuci suçila* in 57—1—3. *Kadang haji* is a compound (without connecting particle): Royal relative.

38—4—3: Ke: *angkadhara panagara*, m.c., which does not make sense, neither does Prb's emendation: *anggakara panasara*. Perhaps the best reading is: *tan angga cara panasara*, v. gl. *sasar*.

38—4—4: Ke: *kaçatpadanira*. Kr note: *hyāti rikang mpu huttama*. As *huttama* instead of *uttama* is unusual in the Nāg., *hyāti pu Mungguh uttama* probably is the best reading. *Maçadpada* as a clergyman's epithet (derived from Skt *ṣaṭpada*: bee) is rendered: diligent.

Canto 38, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *katanggama ywa si walatnira*. The usual meaning of *wulat*, modern Jav. *ulat*: expression of the face, makes good sense in this verse.

38—5—2: Ke: *haji*.

38—5—3: Ke: *āçrayān*, Skt spelling.

38—5—4: Ke: *aparan ta*. *Pasāgēh* is a chancery term: food to be offered as regalement by country gentlemen to Court officers, representing Royal authority. It is an acknowledgment of the poet's Court rank.

Canto 38, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *ndon* and *tuhatuha*.

38—6—2: Ke: *paḍa dhinarumma*, m.c.

38—6—3: Ke: *mukya*, Skt spelling.

38—6—4: Ke: *pārūwakathā nirān Giripatiṣṭharasuta*.

*Canto 39, stanza 1, verse 1*: Neither Ke nor Prb noticed that *Mungukh* is the name of the abbey, v. gl.

39—1—4: Ke emends: *kaṣṭrajñān*.

*Canto 39, stanza 2, verse 2*: Ke: *swacitta*, Skt spelling.

39—2—3: Ke: *namas*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 39, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *kawindrān rumēngō*. The future tense *rumēngwa* makes good sense in this verse.

39—3—2: Ke: *sugyan* and *mithyā*, Skt spelling. Instead of *wang rēngō*, which does not make sense, *pangrēngō* is to be read, as in 49—7—2; it may be rendered: oral tradition.

39—3—3: Kr note: *sang jana*, m.c. Prb's emendation: *jñāna sang wrdḍa* makes better sense.

39—3—4: Ke: *nyāna sugyādhikā*, m.c.

*Canto 40, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *yuddhaikawtra*, Skt spelling.

40—1—2: Ke: *sākṣāt dewātmakāyonija* and *Girindra*, Skt spelling.

40—1—3: Ke: *kapwārēs*.

40—1—4: Ke: *Śrī-Rangga* and *śrātidakṣa*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 40, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *parawata Kawi*.

40—2—2: The usual meanings of *anggēh*: fixed relation, legal state; of *kuwu*: manor; and of *inadēh*: vanquished, a dependency, make good sense in this verse. Ke's translation of *inadēh wuwang*: pressed by people, is unidiomatic. In the Nāg. idiom the author of an action is as a rule indicated either by the particle *ing* or by *tēkap*, placed after the verb in the passive voice.

*Canto 40, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke emends: *narendreng*.

40—3—2: *Tattwopadeśa* is the name of a Shiwaite doctrine, v. comm.

40—3—3: Ke: *anusup pājaran*, re-emended by Kr note: *anusup ing pājaran*, m.c. *Pārṣwaṣānya* looks like a name (Lonely Side).

40—3—4: *mukya ng* refers to the following word, as usual, v. gl.

*Canto 40, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *girigirin*.

40—4—2: Ke: *pasewa*.

40—4—3: Ke emends: *samasamāngekanāthātīṣakta*.

40—4—4: Ke: *mwang* and *sukeng* rāt. Instead of *kuwu juru*, *juru kuwu* is to be read, v. comm.

Canto 40, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *wibhawa*, m.c.

40—5—2: Kr note: *Yawadharani*, m.c. Ke: *jōng nirān chatra ning rāt*, Skt spelling.

40—5—4: Ke: *dhinarma*. Prb's suggestion that *Usāna* is the name of the domain (*dharma*) is improbable. The usual meaning of *ing usāna*: in olden times, fits well in this verse.

Canto 41, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *siniwi*.

41—1—2: Ke: *rat*, m.c.

41—1—3: Ke: *Çakābda* and *Girīndrabhawana*, Skt spelling. Ke identifies *tilaka*: mark, especially on the forehead, with *bindu*: dot, as a number: nought.

41—1—4: Ke: *pradīpa Çiwabinba*. *Wimba* is in common use in Jav. Ke translates: a glorious Çiwa-statue. The usual meanings of *mangun*: to construct, to shape, and of *pradīpa*: a lamp, should not be neglected; v. comm.

Canto 41, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Bhaṭāra ~ ~ Wiṣṇuwarddhana*, with note: two syllables short. Kr's reading *Jayawiṣṇuwarddhana* is right. Ke: *siniwi*.

41—2—2: Ke: *Narasingha*, m.c.

41—2—3: Ke: *sirānghilangakēn* and *māti çrṇṇa sahana*.

41—2—4: Ke: *parāṅgmuka* and *sakala*.

Canto 41, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *Wiṣṇu ngabhiṣeka*.

41—3—2: Ke: *samasta parasāmya*, m.c.

41—3—3: Ke: *prakāçita*; Kr note: *prakaçita*, m.c.

41—3—4: Ke: *Narasinghamūrtti* and *surapada*, m.c.

Canto 41, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *Çakābda kanawāwanikṣiti*, m.c. and *Surālaya*, Skt spelling.

41—4—2: Ke: *Çiwabinba len Sugatawinba munggw i Jajaghu*.

41—4—3: Ke: *Narasinghamūrtti* and *surapada*, m.c.

41—4—4: Ke: *uttama*, Skt spelling.

Canto 41, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *kathākēna muwah narendra Kṛtānāgarāṅghilangakēn*, Skt spelling.

41—5—2: Kr note: *rikanang*, m.c. Ke: *Çakābda bhujagoçaçikṣaya*.

41—5—3: Ke: *Malayu*.

41—5—4: Ke: *rika dewamūrttinira*. Prb's reading: *ri kodewamūrttinira* makes better sense. *Mara*, meaning: going, to go, is used as a



particle, i.a. to emphasize the preceding word. In modern Jav. *těha*, meaning: coming, to come, can have a similar function. *Ngāni*, before, is to be rendered in this verse: before that time. *Kālahan* means: demise. Defeat is *kālah*, v. gl.

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*Canto 42, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Çakābda* and *amāti*, m.c.

42—1—2: Kr note: *nika*, m.c. For *pinalēh* v. gl. *alēh*, related to modern Jav. *lumuh*: to loathe.

42—1—3: Ke: *anggawiyatarkka*. Kr note: *motusan i tanah i Bāli*, m.c.

42—1—4: Ke: *narendra*, m.c.

*Canto 42, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *samangkana tikang*.

*Canto 42, stanza 3, verse 2*: Ke: *Kali*. The usual meanings of *apan*: for (causal), of *tētēs*: accurate, clear-sighted, and of *nimittaniran*: His motive to . . . , was . . . , fit well in this stanza. "Therefore, for that reason" (Ke's and Prb's translation of *nimittaniran*) is rendered in the Nāg. idiom by: (*nā*) *hetunya*, v. gl. Very often the Nāg. stanza of four verses is to be divided into two halves of two verses each, containing in one verse an initial sentence and in the next one the final principal sentence (unless, of course, each verse makes a complete sentence of its own, which is the case in the majority of Nāg. stanzas).

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*Canto 43, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *rikang* and *prabhu*.

43—1—2: Ke: *Çakābda* and *dīwaça ny antuk*, m.c. In the chronogram *gogendutri ga* stands for *aga*: mountain.

43—1—4: Ke: *şaḍabhiñādhāraka* and *prabhu*. The usual meanings of *dhāraka*: to stand firm, and of *dewaprabhu*: divine King, fit well in this verse. On *Şaḍabhiñā* v. comm.

*Canto 43, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra* and *Çri-Çākyasinghātiti*.

43—2—2: Ke: *pañcaçīla kṛtasangskārābhiṣekakrama*. The usual meaning of *kṛtasangskāra*: having observed the ceremonies, makes good sense in this verse.

43—2—3: Ke: *Jinābhiṣekanira* and *Jñānabajreçwara*, Skt spelling.

43—2—4: Ke: *tarkka* and *Çrīnātha*.

*Canto 43, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *wrēddhi* and *sarwawakriyādhyātmiika*. The usual meanings of *wrēddha*: old, and of *ādhyātmiika*: esoteric (opp. *wāhya*: exoteric) make good sense in this verse.

43—3—2: Ke: *Subhāti*, Skt spelling, and *hati*.

43—3—3: Ke's rendering of *sthiti* by: welfare is incorrect; it should be rendered: order, orderliness.

43—3—4: Ke: *āstām tang gaṇasatra nitya madulur ddānenitwō ring prajā*. Ke translates *gaṇasatra*: hospitals for religious persons, which is improbable. No doubt Prb is right in considering C's original *gaṇa-cakra* as a technical term of Tantrism, v. comm. The usual meaning of *nitya madulur*: always successively, fits well in this verse.

Canto 43, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *kadi* and *atītaprabhu*.

43—4—2: Kr note: *nipuna*, Skt spelling.

43—4—3: Ke: *Jinabrata* and *prayogakriyā*, Skt spelling.

43—4—4: Ke: *paḍaikacchatra dewaprabhu*, Skt spelling.

Canto 43, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *Ṣākābdhijanāryyama* and *Jinen-drālaya*, Skt spelling.

43—5—2: Ke: *sangke* and *sarwvopadeṣādika*. The usual meanings of *-antara*: other (in this verse probably referring to Shiwaism) and of *adhika*: eminent, make good sense.

43—5—3: Ke: *kalahan*.

43—5—4: Ke: *halāpnyottama*.

Canto 43, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: [*Sagala*] *pratiṣṭa Jinawimbātyanta*.

43—6—2: Ke: *Ardhanareṣwari*.

43—6—3: Ke: *bhuwana*, m.c. and *brata*. The usual meaning of *wṛddhi*: increase, makes good sense in this verse.

43—6—4: Ke: *Wairocana*.

Canto 44, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke explains the concluding long *ā* of *narendrā* in C by the following caesura. Metrical caesurae are not observed in the Nāg. As the *ṛ* of *Kṛtanagara* can pass for *rē* the preceding *a* is metrically long by position. But then long vowels out of their rightful places are so common in C that a special explanation for every case is hardly called for. Long vowels are sometimes used as a mark of respect. This might also be advanced as an explanation of the long *ā* of *narendrā*.

44—1—3: Ke: *kuhaka*. Berg (R. p. 128) 's translation of Skt *sāmanta*: vassal may be right also.

44—1—4: Ke: *bhāmi*; Kr note corrects: *bhāmi*. Ke: *kirakira*. The usual meaning of *kira-kira* in the Nāg. idiom: ways and means, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 44, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *Jayasabha ng-angganyana*. As the metre requires the last *a* of *Jayasabha* to be metrically long Ke again

brings forward the caesura to make it so. By reading *Jayasabhāṅg*, i.e. *Jayasabha ang* the difficulty is solved in a simpler way. For *ang* (the article) v. gl.

44—2—3: Ke: *Çākāṣṭaikaṇā*, Skt spelling. Ke translates: in the Shāka-year eight-one-one, with a note: the poet took the liberty to suppress the initial nought. The year nought-eight-one-one: 1180 Sh. is meant.

44—2—4: Ke: *Çāka trīni san Çanghara*, with note: *san* must have the value of nine in this place. Perhaps it is an abbreviation of *sanga*.

Canto 44, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *āstām* and *nāṣāntara*.

44—3—3: Ke: *wipatha*.

44—3—4: Ke: *hayunya*, m.c. The long *ā* marks a future tense.

Canto 44, stanza 4, verse 1: *Haji* refers to King Kērta-Nagara of Singasari, and so does *nṛpati* of 44—4—2.

44—4—2: Ke: *mogha*.

44—4—3: Ke: *mantw anggēhnira*.

44—4—4: Ke: *ārddha mwang wwang Tatar*. *Sārdham* is good Skt.

Canto 45, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *alilang*, m.c.

45—1—2: Ke: *masarūparawī Çakābda*.

45—1—3: Ke: *sinivīṅg* and *anurāga*.

Canto 45, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *sinivi*.

45—2—2: Ke: *sa-Yatwahṣiti*.

45—2—3: Ke: *payugalan*.

45—2—4: Ke: *surawadhā*, Skt spelling. Ke intercalates in his translation an unnecessary "beautiful".

Canto 46, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *nāmāgrajānindita*, Skt spelling.

46—1—2: Prb's emendation *Suhitā* (TBG 56, 1914, p. 490) is doubtful. The Pēnanggunan charter of 1296 A.D. (ed Prb, Inscriptions N.I. 1940) has *Narendraduhitā*.

46—1—3: Ke: *Prajñāpāramitākyā*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *anindyeng*, m.c.

46—1—4: *Paramēṣwari*, *Mahādevī*, *Jayendrādewī* and *Rājapatnī* are titles and names of functions.

Canto 46, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *ārddhāparā*.

46—2—3: Ke: *Narasinghamūrtty awēka*; Ke's mistake in making

Lēmbu Tal a Princess has been corrected by Prb (O.V. 1915, p. 1).  
*Suṣrama* is a masculine epithet.

46—2—4: Ke: *Boddhapraṭiṣṭāpagāh*.

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*Canto 47, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*.

47—1—2: Ke: *nā*, m.c.

47—1—3: Ke: *saikacitta*. The usual meanings of *nā*: such, thus, of  
*don*: aim, purpose, and of *rēsēp*: pleasure, make good sense in these  
 verses.

*Canto 47, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra waruṇan*.

47—2—2: Ke: *maṣṭwākhēn*. Kr and Prb are right in making King  
 Kērtarājasa the grammatical subject of *maṣṭwākhēn*. On *indreṣṭwari*  
 v. comm.

*Canto 47, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*. Kr note: *ma-try-arūṇa*.  
 Ke's original reading: *mātr-arūṇa*, making the year Sh. 1216, is cor-  
 rected by Prb (TBG 56, 1914, p. 147).

47—3—2: Ke: *pinraṭiṣṭa*.

47—3—3: Ke: *Antahpura*.

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*Canto 48, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra, prabhu* and *nagarī*, m.c.

48—1—2: Ke: *nṛputrikāntēn*, corrected by Kr: *nṛpapatrikā*. Ke:  
*mebu, Rājapatnī* is a title.

48—1—3: Ke: *surawadhā*, Skt spelling.

48—1—4: Kr note: *sirān*, m.c.

*Canto 48, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *Ṣakakāla, pakṣa* and *caritan*. Ke  
 translates: in the Čāka-year 1238, with note: *muṭti*, release, is synony-  
 mous with *wimokṣa*. In Buddhism the number of *wimokṣas* is eight.

48—2—2: Ke: *prabhu n*, m.c.

48—2—3: Ke: *Nambi*. According to the Pēnanggungan charter  
 (Inscriptions N.I. 1940, p. 37) the name was *Tambi*. Kr note: *ring*,  
 m.c.

48—2—4: Ke: *kaprawāranira sang narendra sinīwī*, m.c.

*Canto 48, stanza 3, verse 2*: Ke: *Wiṣṇuwimba*, Skt spelling.

48—3—4: Ke: *Suka-ṭila* and *Sugatawimba*, Skt spelling.

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*Canto 49, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Ṣakābdendu*, m.c.

49—1—2: Ke: *Jiwana* and *narendra*, Skt spelling.

49—1—3: Ke: *gumantirikang Tiktamālāra rājū*, m.c.

49—1—4: Ke: *narendra*. Kr note: emendation: *narendrerikang*, m.c.

Canto 49, stanza 2, verse 1: *paningkah* means: son-in-law, v. gl.

49—2—2: Ke: *manggalya* and *wiçeṣa*, Skt spelling. Prb's translation of *manggalya*: bringing fortune, is right.

49—2—3: Ke: *rājāt*, Skt spelling.

49—2—4: Kr note: *rumakṣeng*. *Rumakṣeng kāryya* means: to mind the customary ceremonies. Kr note remarks that the *Rājapatni* is the grammatical subject of *anpratwakēn*. The literal meaning of *anpratwakēn*: to make *Ratus*, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 49, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *agnīswarī*, with note: *ari* stands for *hari*.

49—3—3: Kr note: *jagadrakṣaṇa*. *Tēwēk* means: moment, time (of an event) and *sunrah*: to pass over.

49—3—4: Ke: *mantry anāmā Madātyanta wijña*, Skt spelling.

Canto 49, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *ring Çakābdeṣu-māsākṣi-nābhi*, Skt spelling.

49—4—2: Ke: *duççila nīca*, Skt spelling.

49—4—3: Ke: *wināṣa*, m.c.

49—4—4: Ke: *salwir ing* and *wiçāta*, mod. Jav. *wisata*, which seems better than Kr's emendation: *wiçasta*, translated: cut down.

Canto 49, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *nirāngrēs*.

49—5—4: The usual meaning of *athawā*, modern Jav. *utawa*: and also, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 49, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *wiwang* and *narendra*.

49—6—2: Ke: *ndatan*. C's reading *nda yan* makes good sense. *Tṛpti* means: delight, delighted.

49—6—3: Ke: *matwas* and *māryyāṅgaweṣa*. The usual meanings of *awas*; clear, and of *pāpakarma*: evil *karma*, i.e. sinfulness, fit well in this place.

49—6—4: Ke: *māwas wināṣā*.

Canto 49, stanza 7, verse 2: Ke: *hṅganya*, m.c. *Pangrēṅō* means: oral tradition, v. 39—3—2, comm.

Canto 49, stanza 8, verse 1: Ke: *sakramānārjjawāṅgling*, m.c.

49—8—2: Ke: *amwītānoliheking*.

49—8—3: Ke: *rātri*, m.c. Kr note: *ring pakuwwan*, m.c. Ke's translation neglects *rātri*.

49—8—4: Kr note: *Çrī narendra*, m.c.

CHAPTER 6 — THE ROYAL CHASE  
IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SINGASARI

Cantos 50—54, 25 stanzas.

Canto 50, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mahas*.

50—1—3: Ke: *Nandanawana* (Indra's pleasure-ground), with note: C has *Nandakawana*, a mistake.

50—1—4: As a rule the Skt comparative degree in *-tara* was understood as a superlative in Old Javanese literature, v. KBNW, Balinese glosses. *Kayon* is rendered: growth, for the hunting-ground was not a dense jungle, v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 2, verse 1: *Medran* is rendered: make a ring, cf *idëran* 8—5—3. Ke: *manëngkö* is modern Jav. *anëngkër* (from *sëngkër*), v. Wirāṭaparwa (ed. Juynboll, p. 35): *kasëngkö*.

50—2—2: Ke note: *rangköt* is modern Jav. *rëngkët*, also *rëngkëd*, *rungekud*. Kr note: *marangköt*, m.c.

50—2—4: Ke: *hegu*.

Canto 50, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *matunwatunwan*.

50—3—2: Ke: *pasurak*.

50—3—3: Ke: *nikā*, a mistake.

50—3—4: Ke: *sāksāt Kāṇḍawawana*, Skt spelling, and *ngūni*.

Canto 50, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke translates *tonton*: one saw. *Nonton* does not mean: to see, but: to look at. *Tonton* is a so-called passive imperative or gerundive, like modern Jav. *kon*: to be commanded to do a thing. *Tonton* is to be rendered: to be observed, or: look at! *Datan wri rātnya* is a standard expression; *wri* = *wruh i(ng)*.

50—4—3: Kr note: *āpan*, m.c. The usual meaning of *āpan*: for (reason) makes good sense in this verse. Ke's reading *minggat abalar* is unidiomatic; *balabar* is the usual form, cf 50—2—1. Therefore the right reading is: *minggata balabar*, v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 5, verses 1 and 2: *Gobraja*: corral, and *wṛṣabha-pura*: bull's compound, fit well in these verses. Ke's opinion that mythological places are meant is not right.

50—5—3: Ke translates *cihna* by: hare, with note: Skt *śaśa*, hare, is the mark, *cihna*, in the moon: *śaśāṅka* or *śaśin*. As neither hares nor rabbits are frequent in East-Java probably the chevrotin (Jav. *kañcil*, Malay *pelanduk*) is meant. On 50—5—4, *gaṇḍaka* v. comm.

Canto 50, stanza 6, verse 2: Kr note: *hanā*, m.c.

50—6—3: Ke: *mrgendra*, with note: in Java the tiger. No doubt the well-known Pañcatantra pair the lion and the jackal is meant.

Canto 51, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mrgendrādhipa*.

51—1—2: Ke has a note on *toh*; it is often to be rendered: well then. Quotations from the poems Sutasoma (folio 94b): *toh ndy anung nīti*, Smaradahana: *toh ndy ang dukka sakeriya*, Bhāratayuddha (33—4): *toh ndyānūṅ naya ng enake kita*, Bhomakāwya: *toh, rakryan apati, ta paran* (probably better reading: *apatih aparan*) *tikāṅgulaha ningwang amatwa bhuwana*. Ke translates also: come now!, quoting: Bhomakāwya (110—12): *prabhu toh haywa sandeha*, Rāmāyaṇa (5—7): *yata walēsēnta, toh kirakiran pējahanya huwus*. Another translation of Kern's is: please, or: please, tell me; quotations: Arjunawiwāha (stanza 149): *ibu, toh, rumuhuna kilo*, and (stanza 176): *indung, toh, syapa ta kilāri māsku*.

51—1—4: Ke: *anglagana* and *hayuyun*. Prb's reading: *tulya hayuyun n dinon tan murud* no doubt is right.

Canto 51, stanza 2, verse 1: The usual meaning of: *awarṇa kadī*: of the kind of, makes good sense in this verse.

51—2—2: Ke: *watwang*.

51—2—3: Ke: *nayānūṅ gēgēn*, m.c. The usual meaning of: *yan (i) bwat*: as to what concerns, fits well in this verse, v. gl.

Canto 51, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *serabha* is Skt: *sairibha*. Skt *tarakṣa* is hyena or wolf. In 53—5—2 Ke renders *tarakṣa*: tiger. In KBNW *tarakṣu* has a Balinese gloss: *macan* (i.e. tiger). Probably the Javanese wild dog is meant in the Nāg.

51—3—2: Ke: *wipatha*.

51—3—3: Ke: *kunēṅ*.

51—3—4: *Si* is a particle; in modern Javanese dialects *si* still is used in connection with orders and advices. *Manglawana* and *gēgwana* are imperatives belonging to *manglawan* and *anggēgwani*.

Canto 51, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *sumahur* and *yuktikā*. Kr note: *yukti*, two syllables, m.c. Probably *yukti n gēgōn* is the best reading.

51—4—2: Ke: *durjjanānūṅ dēlōn*. Prb's translation is better than

Ke's. *Anung dëlön* may be translated literally: the thing that is to be observed.

51—4—3: Ke: *mangswa kunëng*. Neither Ke nor Prb saw that *wähya*: exoteric, materialistic, worldly, has for opposite the spiritual considerations of stanzas 5 and 6.

51—4—4: Ke: *wiwal angangga*. C's reading: *wipala ng angga*, misread by Brandes, Ke and Prb, makes good sense. *Patyana* stands for *pinatyana*, apparently m.c. Kr note: *lang tanpadon*, 4 syllables, m.c. *Pan tanpadon* makes better sense.

Canto 51, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *tuwi*.

51—5—2: *Angiringana* is the subjunctive mood belonging to *angiringi*. *Angiringi*, modern Jav. *ngeringi*, means: to show respect. To accompany (Ke's translation) is *angiring*, v. gl.

51—5—3: Ke: *kapanggihana tēkap*. Kr note: *kapanggiha*, m.c. in conformity with C. *Yat* might contain the abbreviated personal pronoun *t* belonging to *kita*. The emendation *yan* is possible, though.

Canto 51, stanza 6, verse 1: Ke: *panghañutane hurip ning dadi*. *Panghañutan* means: place or instrument for *anghañut*. The usual meaning of *yogya*: proper to be a thing, makes good sense in this verse.

51—6—2: Ke: *wiçeṣaprabhu*.

51—6—3: Ke: *awōs* and *pējaha*.

Canto 51, stanza 7, verse 1: Kr note: *ring*, m.c. Prb's readings *musuhangkwa* (with two times the uncertainty affix *-a*) and *medint* are right.

51—7—3: Kr note: *yan katēmwa*, m.c. Prb's reading *niyataku k awwat hurip*, containing the abbreviated form *k* belonging to the personal pronoun *aku* is right. The abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns are scarce in the Nāg. (v. 17—9—4, though). The descriptive character of the poem did not offer many occasions to use colloquial forms.

Canto 52, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *mojar aku pwa*. C's reading *mojara kumwa* makes good sense. *Kumwa* means: considering this, with this consideration; it is related to *aku*, *raku*: modern Jav. *ngaku*: to assert, cf note 1—4—1.

52—1—2: Ke: *yan humarēk*. Prb reads: *anghaḍayan*, modern Jav. *aḍeyan*: to trot. As the *h* of *humarēk* is out of place and to trot does not make good sense probably the verse is corrupt. The reading *anghaḍangū n* (i.e. *anghaḍanga an*) *umarēk* seems the best. *Umarēk*



has the usual Court meaning: to enter into the Presence of Royalty. It refers to 51—7—3, 4: the advice to seek death by the King's hands in order to be released from reincarnation in animal shape.

*Canto 52, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *tucapa ng*, m.c. *Mamawāṣwa* means: bringing horses, not: on horseback (Ke's translation). Probably *mamawāsu*: bringing dogs, is the better reading. The dogs are mentioned in 52—4—1.

52—2—2: The usual meaning of *manuju*: to aim at, fits well in this verse.

52—2—4: Ke: *tatanpabisa*. Ke in his translation neglects *rinēbut*.

*Canto 52, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *karungnya*.

52—3—3: Ke: *amēsah*. Instead of C's *ampah*, *amṛh* (i.e. *amērēh*, from *wērēh*) is to be read. The difference in Javanese script between *pa* and *r* is slight.

52—3—4: Ke: *paḍa*, m.c.

*Canto 52, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *ṣwa n-amamuk iniratnya*. Prb: *ṣwana mamuk*. Kr note: *ikanang ṣwa n amuk kinirat* or *hinirat*, m.c. Perhaps the best reading is: *ikang asw an amuk kinērētnya*. *Ṣwāna*, dog, does not fit in the metre. *Irat* or *hirat* is not mentioned in KBNW, whereas *kērēt* is.

52—4—3: Ke: *anglwangi*.

*Canto 53, stanza 1, verse 2*: Ke: *winangswan*, with note: perhaps the right reading is *winangsēhan*. *Winangswan an* is a possible reading too. Ke: *ginayur ing gayor*.

53—1—3: Ke: *angēbēk*. *Anglēk*: KBNW s.v. *lēk*: *alēk*: disgusted (?) is proposed as an emendation.

53—1—4: Ke's reading *aningā* instead of *anibā* is a mistake.

*Canto 53, stanza 2, verse 2*: Ke: *kimuta*.

53—2—3: Ke: *apulik ikang wiṣāṇa*, m.c., translated: rhinoceroses. Probably *wiṣāṇi*: horned beasts, is a better reading, cf *aṣṅga* in 52—1—4.

*Canto 53, stanza 3, verse 2*: Ke: *kaburayut*.

53—3—3: Ke: *rumangkarangka lumaluy*, corrected by Prb: *rumangkarangkal umaluy*.

53—3—4: The usual meaning of *mrēpēki*: to approach, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 53, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *paramantry* and *wāhanāsrang*.

53—4—2: Ke: *amanḍēm*.

53—4—3: Ke: *wiṣāṇi* and *gumēpuh*. The usual meanings of *karāṇa* ni: because of, and of *gumērēh*: thundering, make good sense in this verse.

53—4—4: Ke: *kṛṇṇa kṛṇṇa*, a mistake. For *inuya* Ke refers to modern Jav. *nguyahuya*.

Canto 53, stanza 5, verse 2: On *tarakṣa* v. note 51—3—1 and comm. Ke translates *mangudiding*: menacing, and Prb: trembling. The KBNW meaning of *kēdiding*: to make off quickly, fits well in this verse.

53—5—4: *Kṛṭawara* is a technical term referring to the clergy, approximately: distinguished.

Canto 54, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *rin*, corrected by Kr: *ring*. Ke: *syandanānindita*.

54—1—2: Ke: *pathya*.

54—1—3: Ke: *mungsā*.

54—1—4: Ke: *hetunyālaradan* and *ṣawanyālayā*. *Ṣawa*, corpse, does not make sense in this verse. Prb's reading *gawayālayu* does not fit in the metre. Perhaps the best reading is: *wiṣāṇyālayu*. The horned beasts have as counterparts the boars of 54—2—1. As *para* does not make good sense, *mara* is to be read instead.

Canto 54, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *kṛṣṇasāra* and *cihnōdinya*. The usual meaning of *aḍinya*, i.e. *adhinya*: the most excellent of them, fits well in this verse.

54—2—2: Ke: *turaggānāt riya atry ālayā*. *Riyātry ālayā* is the right reading. *Riya* is composed of the preposition *ri* and the pronoun *ya*. Though unusual in the Nāg. *riya* is used in this verse in order to make up the alliterating puzzle: *anātriyātryālayā*. Prb's translation of *mawāhana turangga*: on horseback, is right.

54—2—3: Ke: *mantri taṇḍa bhujangga* and *ingng aṣwa*, m.c. Kr note: *mitwābiru*, m.c. *Umunggwing aṣwa* does not mean: riding on horseback, but: having their places with the horses. Probably they were riding, though.

54—2—4: Ke: *tanpagap*.

Canto 54, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *arddhālwā*. The usual meaning of *apaḍang*: clear (light), fits well in this verse.

54—3—2: Ke: *hetunya*.

54—3—3: Ke: *bhujanggomarēh*.

CHAPTER 7 — THE RETURN  
FROM THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1359,  
from Singasari to Majapahit.

Cantos 55—60, 25 stanzas.

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*Canto 55, stanza 1, verse 1:* Ke: *jēñk*.

55—1—3: Ke: *ripukula*, Skt spelling.

55—1—4: Ke: *tatan*.

*Canto 55, stanza 2, verse 1:* Kr note: *swanagara*, m.c.

55—2—2: Ke: *muwah Talijungan*.

55—2—3: Ke: *mahawan i Kuwarāha*, corrected by Kr note: *Kūwarāha*.

55—2—4: Ke: *Dada Mārgga Rontang i pagēr Talaga pahañangan tēheka*. Prb's reading: *Dadamar Garantang i Pagēr-Talaga Pahañangan* is more likely.

*Canto 55, stanza 3, verse 1:* Prb's separating *Tambak* and *Rabut-Wayuha* seems right.

55—3—2: Ke: *Bhaṇarāgiṇa* and *Padamayan*, m.c. No doubt Prb is right in taking *Bhaṇarāgi* for the right form of the name.

55—3—3: Ke: *Jajawar i*; Kr note: *Jajawa ri*. *Kumukus* is a name; the word does not mean: spitting fire (Ke's translation) but: smoking.

55—3—4: Ke: *paḍa paḍa hagarjjita*. Probably the right reading is: *saha puspa paḍaha paḍa garjjita nguwang umulat*, v. comm.

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*Canto 56, stanza 1, verse 2:* Ke: *prabhu*, m.c. Ke's translation of *kīrtti*: monument, is not right, v. comm.

56—1—3: Ke: *tēkwan*. The meanings of *angadhiṣṭita*: to erect, and of *gartra*: in person, self, alone, make good sense in this verse.

56—1—4: Ke: *hetunyāngdwaya*.

*Canto 56, stanza 2, verse 1:* Ke: *cihneng*. C's reading *cihnang*, i.e. *cihna ng*, fits well in this verse.

56—2—3: Ke: *tan hanolya nikā*; Kr note: *tan hanolyana nika*, m.c.

Perhaps *tan hanoly ahēt ika* is the best reading. The meaning of *ahēt*: modern Jav. *aut*, is: narrow, small, with the connotations: trifling, hidden. *Pratimā* is a statuette, v. comm.

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In C the cantos 56 and 57 are not separated by the usual double *pada*. As they both have 18 feet in a verse the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

*Canto 57, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *hana mata karēngō tēwēk*, m.c., and *Akṣobhyavimba*, Skt spelling.

57—1—2: Ke: *pada-pāduka* and *rājādhika*. Ke's translation of *hana . . . i rājādhika* by: the supreme King possessed, is unidiomatic. Perhaps the right reading is: *Rājyādhika*, i.e. the name of a town or a country, v. comm. *Mahāguru* is the title-name of the learned stranger

57—1—3: Ke: *sutapa*, *suçila* and *çrāwakānindita*, Skt spelling.

57—1—4: Ke: *maciryyan mahāpaṇḍita*.

*Canto 57, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *mahas* and *seccha mēgil*. Kr note: *secchāmēgil*, m.c. Ke: *ring sudharmme dalēm*, m.c.

57—2—3: Ke: *çalya*, Skt spelling.

57—2—4: Ke: *ri wēnanga nira n-abhaktya*. Kr note: *ri wēnangiran abhaktya* m.c. C is metrically right and its meaning is clear, there is no need for emendations. *Wēnanga* is a subjunctive mood referring to *anangçaya*: doubting. Kr note: *ring hyang*, unnecessary.

*Canto 57, stanza 3, verse 4*: Ke: *salahaça*, m.c. Kr note: *hyang arccātilang*. *Mohçeng hyang ngarccātilang* seems the best reading.

*Canto 57, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *Çakābda* (unnecessary) and *arccā n-hilang*. Kr note: *rakwē*, m.c. As the last words of 3—4 and 4—1 are almost identical perhaps one of the two is corrupt. In 4—1 *hyang arccā* should be: *hyang ing arccā*, which is unmetrical. The meaning is clear, though.

57—4—2: Ke: *sucanḍi*, m.c. Kr note: *bajraghoçang*, m.c.

57—4—3: Ke: *mahāçrāwakāwās*, a mistake.

57—4—4: Kr points out: between *waluya* and *dharinna* a short and a long syllable are missing. Perhaps the best reading is: *waluya hyang ing dharmma*, v. comm.

*Canto 57, stanza 5, verse 2*: Ke: *bale nyāsa hapwādhika*. *Bale nyāsa* does not make sense. *Balenyāsaka* (i.e. *açaka*) *pwādhika* is a more likely reading.

57—5—3: Ke: *ri dalēm*. Both Ke and Kr have noted the deficiency of three syllables. *Inupacāra ṣobhārjja sēk nāgapuspānēḍēng* seems a likely reading.

57—5—4: The usual meaning of *rumputan*: small heap, tuft, makes good sense in this verse. *Ḍarasang strī* is a crux. Perhaps *sārining strī*: the quintessence of womanhood, should be read. *Sāri . . . nāgari* is a pun on *nāgasari*, the name of the flowers called *nāgapuspa* in 57—5—3.

Canto 57, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke's translation of *mendah*: resembling, is a mistake. *Wulu-Ḍaḍa* is the name of the place. The fern vegetation seems to have spread from the bank to below the waterline. Perhaps it was *Cycas Rumphii*, *pakis haji*, a small tree.

57—6—3: Ke: *arkhāpanas*, m.c. *Anghēn*, every time, fits well in this verse. Evidently the Court stayed several days in Jajawa.

Canto 58, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Jajawar i*, with note: better is *Jajawa ri Paḍameyan*.

58—1—2: Ke: *maṇḍē(gi)*, *kalangēn umahas* and *wanadeḍa lēngōng*.

58—1—3: Ke: *pīnaran*. *Pawitra* is a name, v. comm.

58—1—4: Ke: *inikēt*.

Canto 58, stanza 2, verse 1: The usual meaning of *alihang*: ready, makes good sense in this verse.

58—2—3: Ke: *balasanggha*.

58—2—4: The usual meaning of *monēng*: to think longingly of, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 58, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *nṛpati n-mapupul*.

58—3—2: Ke: *mukya*.

58—3—3: Ke: *nṛpati n-tanadoh*.

58—3—4: Ke: *kapwa sadampati*.

Canto 59, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *ahawan ṣakaḥān*, m.c.

59—1—2: Probably *tanpangiring* is the correct reading. *Pangiring*, without suffixed *-an*, is an unlikely name for a place (Ke's interpretation).

59—1—3: Ke: *katēmu*.

Canto 59, stanza 2, verse 1: Prb thinks the place was called *Sangkan-Adoh*.

59—2—3: Ke: *sakahēnu*. Prb no doubt is right in translating *padāti* by cart, as in modern Jav. (Ke: foot-soldiers).

59—2—4: Ke: *kimuta* and *arddha*. Prb's translation of *paṇḍarat* by

pedestrian is unusual. *Gawayu* (Ke's reading), wild cattle, *baṅfeng*, is improbable because those animals are untameable; surely they can not be led on a rope. The most likely reading is: *kēbo gaway apanḍarat*, v. comm. Instead of *marang*, which does not make sense, *pirang* is to be read.

*Canto 59, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *tinitah ~ ~ ~ lari*. Prb reads: *tinitah tikang malari*. *Tikang lumari* seems better, v. gl.

59—3—2/3: Ke: the Prince of Pajang, corrected by Kr: the Princesses are meant, v. comm.

59—3—3: Kr note: *nṛpati lasēm* and *mangkat uwah*, m.c. *Mangka muwah* is better.

*Canto 59, stanza 4, verse 1*: Kr note: *ring Dahā nṛpati Wēngkēr*, m.c.

59—4—2: Ke: *sabharṭta sabhṛtya tumut*.

59—4—3: Ke: *pēnuh*.

59—4—4: Ke: *sāyudha*. Prb translates *bhaṭa-mantri*: head-mantris. Skt *bhaṭa*, warrior, makes good sense in this verse. But then, as *bhaṭa* is only found twice in the Nāg. perhaps the well-known *bala* should be read instead.

*Canto 59, stanza 5, verse 1*: Ke: *tāmbing*.

59—5—2: Ke: *ayō manganti*, with note: stands for: *ayēm manganti*. C's reading *ayēm anganti* is right.

59—5—4: Ke: *i paṇasnika*. C's reading: *i ghaṇasnika* makes good sense.

*Canto 59, stanza 6, verse 1*: Ke: *adoh*.

59—6—2: Ke: *makaburayut* and *rārātuhā*.

59—6—3: The meaning of *lirang*: sugar-palm, according to KBNW, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 59, stanza 7, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*. Ke's translation of *kala-ḡaṅgha*: cymbals and clarions is to be corrected: trumpets and conches, according to Kunst-Goris, Hindu-Javanese musical instruments, Batavia 1926.

59—7—2: Ke: *mararēm*.

59—7—3: Ke: *nirātri* and *ri wigat*, m.c.

59—7—4: Ke: *garāḍabhoṣṭra*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 60, stanza 1, verse 3*: Ke: *marica*, *kasumbha* and *kalapa*.

60—1—4: Kr note: instead of *kalar* three short syllables are required. Probably *kalayar* is the right reading.

*Canto 60, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *mamikul ~ ~ abwat*. *Mami-kumikul abwat* seems a likely reading.

60—2—2: Ke: *kapasahar epwan*, which does not make sense. Perhaps *kapasah arepwat* is the right reading. *Kapasah* might be related to *kasah-kasah*: trudging (v. KBNW). *Repwat* is modern Jav. *repat*: difficulty.

60—2—3: Ke: *tengah* and *běnjit*, both misreadings.

60—2—4: To explain *arangkih* Ke refers to modern Jav. *rěngkěk*, *rěngkuk*. The meaning of those words is: bowed.

*Canto 60, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *maghanṭā*, which does not make sense. Perhaps *maghanṭah* is related to modern Jav. *anggrāṇḍah*, meaning: to have to carry too many things at the same time, a too heavy burden.

60—3—2: Ke: *kacu* and *kamal antwam*.

60—3—3: Ke: *haru dang* and *uswan*. *Haru-dang* probably means: cooking-pot, v. comm.

60—3—4: Kr note: *ṣaranya* ought to be: ~ ~ ~. *Amurutuk* seems to be a name. Instead of the corrupt *ṣaranya ginuywan* perhaps *puharanya ginuywan* is to be read, v. gl. *puhara*.

*Canto 60, stanza 4, verse 1*: Kr note: *ing*, m.c.

60—4—2: Ke: *ḍalēm*, a mistake.

60—4—3: The usual meaning of *atutur*: to mind, to recall to mind, makes good sense in this verse.

60—4—4: Ke's translation of *para swa*: theirs, i.e. their dependents, is unidiomatic. The usual meaning of *para*: commoners, common people, fits well in this verse, cf. 17—1—3. Instead of *swa*, *pwa* is to be read.

In C the cantos 60 and 61 are not separated by the usual double *pada*. As canto 60 has 12 feet in a verse and canto 61 has 13 the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

## CHAPTER 8 — THE ROYAL PROGRESSES OF 1360 AND 1361

to Tirib, Sömpur and Blitar.

Cantos 61 and 62, 6 stanzas.

*Canto 61, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *lunghä*, Kr note: *nrëpa tan*, m.c.

61—1—4: Ke: *sarsök*, m.c. C's *hyalas* is to be corrected: *ryalas*. C has: *di nang nyäkwëh* with written under it: *ntwa kwang*. That can only mean that the scribe thought, after all, that the best reading was: *dinwan hwangnyäkwëh* which makes good sense indeed. *Dinwan* should be read *dinon*, m.c. Ke's emendation: *dinulunyäkwëh* is unmetrical and unnecessary.

*Canto 61, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *ring Çäka*, m.c.

61—2—2: Kr note: *Çri nāthāmāja*, m.c.

61—2—3: Ke: *lälitya*. The usual meaning of *jambat*: a long time, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 61, stanza 3, verse 1*: The usual meaning of *jañjan*: trifling, slow, fits well in this verse.

61—3—2: Prb's rendering of *poryang*: meagre, poor, makes good sense in this verse.

61—3—3: Ke: *rättryangher*.

*Canto 61, stanza 4, verse 1*: Kr note: *manganting Simping*, m.c.

61—4—2: The usual meaning of *sweçcha*: desiring, makes good sense in this verse. *Anambi* (from *sambi*) means: to combine.

61—4—3: Ke: *präsāda* and *dohnyāngukwan*, m.c. Ke's translation of: *hana dohnyāngukwan*: was at some distance to the west, is unidiomatic.

61—4—4: Ke: *mātra*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 62, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *parimāṇa*, m.c. *Kapwa* makes better sense than *tapwa*.



62—1—2: Ke: *tinēpan samāpta* and *paruwādi*. Ke's emendation *samāpta* makes good sense.

62—1—3: Ke: *inambil*.

62—1—4: Probably *Gontong-Wiṣṇurare* is a double name for one place.

*Canto 62, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *ryyantuk*. Probably the places were called: *Jukung-Jro* and *Yānabajra*, cf *Yānatraya*.

62—2—3: Ke: *ryyangkat*.

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CHAPTER 9 — THE POSTHUMOUS  
CEREMONY IN HONOUR OF THE RAJAPATNĪ  
IN 1362,

*her shrines and her cult.*

*Cantos 63—69, 30 stanzas.*

*Canto 63, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *mantri*. *Apupul*, in company, refers to the fact that in this chapter *Çrī Nātha* is a plural: the Royal Family.

63—1—2: Ke: *āryyādīnya*. Perhaps *ādīnya*, i.e. *adhinya*, is the better reading.

63—1—3: Ke: *mantryāpatih*.

63—1—4: Ke: *rājakāryyolihihi nikanang dhāryya*, with note on *dhāryya*, explained as a mistake for *dhairyya*. Kr note: *-ulihi nikanang*, m.c. The best reading seems to be: *rājakāryyolihihi nikanang kāryya*. *Mangulihulih*: to deliberate on a proposal, makes good sense in this verse

*Canto 63, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *Tribhuvana*. Kr note: at the end three syllables are missing: ~ - ~. Muusses (Oudh. V. 1923, p. 37) has a likely proposal: *prakāṣa*.

63—2—2: Ke: *Çrī-rājapatnī*. The usual meaning of *wēkasan*: ending, makes good sense in this verse. The suffixed *-a* marks the future. *Narendreng kaḍatwan* is a plural: the ceremonies are performed by the Princes in company, not by King Hayam Wuruk alone, v. canto 65. As between *gawayēn* and *çrī narendreng kaḍatwan* the usual indication of the agent of the action (*ing, dening, iḥkaping*) is missing probably *çrī narendreng kaḍatwan* is a vocative.

63—2—3: Prb's translation: in the year with a 4 for head, i.e. 1284 Shāka, is right.

63—2—4: *Wṛddhamantri* is preceded by *para*: common, in opposition to the Illustrious Protectors.

*Canto 63, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*. *Subhaya* stands m.c. for *sobhaya*.

63—3—2: Ke translates: *tang para ḍapur*: the husbandmen, with note: Skt *kuṣumbin*. Rural communities probably is the best translation, v. comm. Both Ke and Prb tried to find translations for *aṇṇi* and *suṇṇa*. *Aṇṇi* and *Suṇṇa* are the headmen's names. The epithet *wijñā*: clever, makes good sense in this verse.

63—3—3: *Thānya suruhana* is the most likely reading. The suffixed -a's mark the intention, in this case the destination of the lands.

63—3—4: Kr note: *byāyāning*, m.c. Ke: *ginoṣṭi* and *narendra*. *Sēnaḍasaḍa* (C's *sināḍasaḍa* is a case of popular etymology) is a chancery corruption of *saṇṇaddha saṇṇāha*: ready, available, mentioned in KBNW s.v. *snāddha* and *snāha*, cf. *paṣṇaha*, 26—2—4.

Canto 63, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *byāṭṭan meḥ iṭṭā ng Bhādrapada*. Kr note: *tilṭṭing*, m.c. Ke: *Ḥrāwāṇa*. Kr note: *Ḥrāwāṇāteki*, m.c.

63—4—2: The usual meaning of *anikēl*: to bend, fits well in this verse, v. comm.

63—4—3: Ke: *dudw ang*, m.c. Ke's translation of *mālad*: to carve, to cut, is right. It is related to *lad*, *wēlad*, v. gl. Ke's translation of *bukubukuran* by stamps (Dutch: *stempels*) is a mistake for temples (Dutch: *tempels*). Prb has: small buildings, v. comm.

63—4—4: Ke: *rajata paḍewēr*, m.c. Ke's translation neglects *matambēh*. The usual meaning of *paṇḍe*: smith, makes good sense in this verse. On *ḍaḍap* v. comm.

Canto 64, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *ḥubhakāla*, m.c.

64—1—2: As any connection (*i* or *ing*) between *maḍya* and *witāna* is missing the translation of Ke and Prb: in the centre of the *witāna* cannot be right. *Maḍya* refers to *sabhā* in the preceding verse.

64—1—3: Kr note: *rinaktārjjwuwung*. The meaning of *tunggal*: one with, united with another, makes good sense in this verse.

64—1—4: Ke: *siṅghāsanātyadbhuta*, Skt spelling. The usual meaning of *sanmuka*: opposite to, fits well in this verse. Prb's opinion that *paḍa* refers to the *witānas* is right.

Canto 64, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *sthāna*. Kr note: *sthānang*, m.c. *Sthāneng* is a better reading.

64—2—2: Kr note: *ātumpatumpe*, m.c. The usual meaning of *atumpa-tumpa*: with terraces, amphitheatrically, makes good sense in this verse.

64—2—3: Ke: *mantri bhujangga* and *talpanya*. *Talpa* is to be rendered: bench, v. comm.

64—2—4: Ke: *bhityasanggha taratagnyāsanghya*. The usual meaning of *asusun*: with storeys, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 64, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *pājādhika*. *Gaṇve narendra* is a compound, synonymous with *rājākārya*: Royal function.

64—3—2: Ke: *sākṣiṅg*. *Maṇḍalālekhaṇa* is the name of a ceremony.

64—3—3: Ke: *mukya* and *sudharmīnenadhi*. The *dharma* Nadi is mentioned in several verses of the Nāg., v. gl.

64—3—4: Ke: *suṣṭa sātviḥa* and *tantratraya*, Skt spelling. Kr's emendation: *labḍāweṣa* is right, cf. 69—1—3, v. comm.

Canto 64, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *sahasramāsa*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *sahasramasa*, m.c. *Utpatti*, being synonymous with *janma*, is to be rendered: existence. *Swa*, used twice in this stanza, is to be rendered: individual, earthly.

64—4—2: Ke: *satṣiṣya*, Skt spelling.

64—4—3: Ke: *maṇḍala*, Skt spelling. Prb's reading: *Paruḥa*, is right, v. gl. The usual meaning of *prasiddha*: celebrant, officiant priest, makes good sense in this verse. *Patangan*, translated by Ke: assistant (from *tangan*: hand) is not found in any other text. Probably C's reading is corrupt. *Manṅgēn*: to the right, fits well in this verse, v. comm.

64—4—4: Kr note: *udhara* should be: - ~ -. Prb's emendation: *uccara*, rightly: *uccāra*: correct pronunciation, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 64, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *sūtrapāṭhenizvō*, Skt spelling. *Irikang swah* is the best reading. *Swah* is rendered: soul, though that is unbuddhistic. Neither Ke's nor Prb's translation of *swah* (heaven and sky) makes sense in this verse, v. comm.

64—5—2: Ke's and Prb's translation of *prāptaning swah*: to reach heaven, is unidiomatic. *Swah* is to be rendered: soul.

64—5—3: Prb's identification of *puṣpa* with the *puṣpa*: flowerbody, of 67—2—3 is right.

64—5—4: Ke: *dhyāna*, Skt spelling.

Canto 65, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *ṣaṅka, gañjaraṇ* and *asanghya*, Skt spelling. *Gañjaraṇ* is a better reading, v. comm.

65—1—3: Kr note: *amānuṣa*, m.c. *Winārṣita* is to be rendered: saluted (with a ceremonious address).

65—1—4: Ke: *amāja sakrama*, m.c.

Canto 65, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *saha tanaya dūra sādara*.

65—2—2: Ke: *masū mahān*. C's reading *masomahan* makes good sense in this verse. Kr note: *Gajahmada*, m.c., in accordance with a charter, O.J.O. 1913, p. 206.

65—2—3: Ke: *paṃinggir athawā* and *digantara*. The usual meaning of *digantara*: other countries, makes good sense in this verse.

65—2—4: Ke: *ika*, m.c., and *yathākrama*.

Canto 65, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *anindyabhojana*.

65—3—2: No doubt Prb's translation: his *tapēl* was in the shape of a *Çri Handiwa-handitwa* is essentially right. *Handitwa* is one of the sugar-palm's names, v. comm.

65—3—3: Ke: *Matahun* and *āta*, Skt spelling, but unmetrical. The usual meaning of *hana*: to be present (Ke's reading), does not make sense in this verse. *Hanam*, plaited work, seems a better reading.

65—3—4: Ke: *artha*, Skt spelling.

Canto 65, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *awawan* and *nirādhiha*. The usual meanings of *wawan*: carrier for offerings, *yaça*: building, *paṭhani*: terrace, and *taḍah*: repast, fit well in this verse.

65—4—2: Ke: *madulur dhanawitarāṇa*.

65—4—3: Ke: *tang* and *açarīra kāmīnī*. The structure of the sentence is bad, evidently it is corrupt. The most likely emendation seems to be: *kagendah*. *Kaga*, Skt *khaga*: bird. *Kāmīnī* is just a poetical expression for: woman, v. comm.

65—4—4: The usual meaning of *kawicitran*: brilliance, sparkling, makes good sense in this verse.

Canto 65, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *mukhya*, *Mandara* and *bhojanād-bhuta*, Skt spelling.

65—5—2: Ke: *midēr* and *mihaṭ*. *Midēr* means: to go round. Its grammatical subject is: *tapēl*. *Pinutēr tapēl*, without any connection between the words (*i* or *ing*) cannot have the sense: turned about by statues (Ke's interpretation).

65—5—3: Ke: *kābhinaṭa*. *Kābhinaṭa polaman* does not make good sense. Probably the verse is corrupt. *Kampita ri polaman* seems a likely emendation.

Canto 65, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: *dinuman*. The usual meanings of *duwēg*: justly, and of *matunggalan*: one by one, fit well in this verse.

65—6—3: Ke: *rinawēhan sasambhawa*. As usual *mukhya* is connected with the following word, not with the preceding ones. The meaning of *sasambhawa*: if there is a possible case, makes good sense in this verse.

65—6—4: Ke: *narendra*.

*Canto 66, stanza 1, verse 1:* Ke's translation of *dina Bhaṭāra* by: Sunday (the Lord's day) is to be dismissed as improbable in the Nāg. idiom. *Bhaṭāra* is Narapati's title.

66—1—3: Ke: *bhāwa kakidung*, which does not make sense. Prb's translation: an episode from a poem, is forced. Evidently the verse is corrupt. *Winarnna bang mwang ahirēng* seems a likely emendation, v. comm.

66—1—4: Prb's emendation: *gubar* is right. According to Kunst-Goris *gubar* was the name of a medium sized gong, a cymbal used in battle.

*Canto 66, stanza 2, verse 1:* Ke: *rātryan*. Kr note: *Gajahmada*, m.c. The predicate *rākryan* before *sang mapatih*, and the usual meaning of *rikang dina*: on that day, fit well in this verse.

66—2—2: Ke: *stry anggēng ṣoka* and *bhuṣagakusuma rājasārang awilēt*.

66—2—4: Ke: *matsya. Wawan bhojana* is a compound: carrier for food.

*Canto 66, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *atyadbhuta*, m.c.

66—3—2: Kr note: *ikang*, m.c. Ke: *wasana*. Ke's translation: on the seventh day seems less idiomatic than Prb's: during seven days.

66—3—3: Ke: *caturāṣṭama*, v. comm.

66—3—4: Ke: *samy amakwang atēpat kapilarih ika kwir ambuh umili*, which makes little sense. The usual meaning of *kahyunhyun*, modern Jav. *kayungyun*: enchanted, fits well in this verse. The rest of the verse seems corrupt. A plausible emendation is: *juru sāmya miḥw ang awērō tēkap i larīh ika kwir ēmbah umili*.

*Canto 66, stanza 4, verse 2:* Ke: *asrang*. The usual meaning of *tingkah ning pasabhān*: the order of the place of the *sabhā*, the durbar, makes good sense in this verse.

66—4—3: Ke: *ṣrī-rāja*. *Ṣrī rājerikanang* is a better reading. *Ṣrī rāja* is unusual as a title of the King. It is a plural: all the Princes are meant. In this verse *bini* has the original meaning: woman. *Mangi-gēl* has *bini* for grammatical object, v. comm.

*Canto 66, stanza 5, verse 1:* *Winangun nareṭwara*, without connecting *i* or *ing* between the words, is hardly idiomatic. *Winangun ri nrpati* is a better reading.

66—5—2: Ke: *widwāmacangah, sahana* and *pratidina*.

66—5—3: Ke: *anyat*. Ke note: *bhāṭa* stands for Skt *bhaṭa*, cf. 59—4—4. The meaning of *mapatra* is: to ask for, eager for. Perhaps it is related to modern Jav. *nganta-anta*: to look out for. Instead of *magēla-*

*gēlaṇ*, which does not make sense, (*gēlaṇ* means lightning, not thunder: Ke) *migēl-igēl* (v. KBNW s.v. *igēl*) *apan* is to be read.

66—5—4: Ke: *mukya ng dāna* and *sabhuwana*.

*Canto 67, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*.

67—1—2: Ke: *tan pakawandhya n-angdani*. *Tanpa kawandyan* contains Skt *wandhya*, modern Jav.: *wande*: not coming off. Ke's translation of *kināryya*: what was done, is unidiomatic. *Kāryya* in this verse has the usual meaning: ceremony. Prb's rendering of *kināryya*: for whom the ceremony was performed, is right.

67—1—4: Ke: *sang ṣṛi-rāja sanāgarāstu*. No doubt the Royal name *Rājasanāgara* is to be read here. Kr and Prb noted it.

*Canto 67, stanza 2, verse 1*: Prb is wrong in translating *angārākēn*: to sing, referring to modern Jav. *uran-uran*: a song. The original meaning of *angārākēn*: to make loose, to release, from *āra*: loose, makes good sense in this verse. *Uran-uran* originally is a "loose" song, without accompaniment.

67—2—2: Ke: *Prajñāpāramitā* and *ring*. *Umantuk* is used out of respect, modern Jav. *krama inggil*. The usual word *muliḥ* is used in the next verse.

67—2—3: Ke: *linarut*. The meaning of *ṣarīra* (neglected in Ke's and Prb's translations) in the Nāg. idiom is: self, alone. Cf. modern Jav. *ḍewe*, *ḍewek*, related to *awak*: body.

67—2—4: Kr note: *sakweh sang cāru*, m.c. *Sakweh ning cāru* seems a better reading. *Cāru*, offering, does not deserve the honour of the predicate *sang*. Ke: *dinum* and *sanggha*.

*Canto 67, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *ṣuddha* and *narendra*.

67—3—2: Berg (R. p. 161) translates *pinriḥ*: Jñānawidhi was worked up. The usual meaning of *amriḥ*: to have in mind to do a thing, makes good sense in this verse, v. gl. Berg's other translation in the same book (p. 260): he wanted it to be completed, is better.

67—3—3: Ke: *tēkwan sāmpun i bhāmi ṣuddha* and *ṣākāgni*. C's reading: *abhāmiṣuddha* makes good sense in this verse. Berg (R. p. 161 and 260) reads *sāmpuna*, connecting it with *pinriḥ* in 67—3—2. *Tēkwan* opens a new sentence, though. On the meaning of *tēkwan* v. gl. *Bhāmiṣuddha* is the name of the ceremony.

67—3—4: Ke: *mabrahmayajña*, the name of another ceremony. The usual meaning of *tēhēr*, modern Jav. *tur*: at once, next, fits well in this verse.

*Canto 68, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *widita* (not mentioned in KBNW) and *sampradāya sthiti*, Skt spelling.

68—1—2: Ke rightly infers from the fact that the next verse begins with *mwang* that 68—1—2 must be missing. Kr note proposes to read: *sang cū Janggalanātha ring Kahuripan* - - - - - ; v. comm.

68—1—3: Ke: *tēwēk ing*, a mistake. Berg (R. p. 36) translates: Java then consisted of two parts, which is incorrect. On the meaning of *tēwēk* v. gl.

68—1—4: Ke: *pānak* and *prabhu*.

*Canto 68, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *yogiçwara*, Skt spelling. Perhaps *pēgat* is used out of respect instead of the usual *putus*.

68—2—2: Berg (R. p. 36) translates *inusir*: who was asked for help. The whole of stanza 2 is eulogy of Bharāḍa. The actual story only begins with stanza 3.

68—2—4: Ke: *kyāti hyang Mpu Bharāḍa wodha riyatitādi*. Ring *atitādi* is a better reading.

*Canto 68, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *rahyang*, *amarwāng* and *langghana*.

68—3—2: Ke: *hīngānyeki* and *cinihna*.

68—3—3: Ke: *kulwan* and *arṇawa*. Aichele (BKI, 113, 1959, p. 335) translates *ng lor-kidul* too freely: the wide country, cf 8—2—3. All four points of the compass are mentioned in this verse.

68—3—4: Ke: *kadyādoh* and *bhāmi Jawāruwa prabhu*. Berg (R. p. 37) translates very freely: as far namely (one might say) as go the coasts that enclose the sea. The translation of *kadyādoh*: as far (one might say) as, is open to grave doubts. The usual meaning of *kadi*: like, fits well in this verse. Uhlenbeck-Teeuw's translation is right, though *tēwēk ing* is best rendered: (at the) moment of the completion of (an action etc., cf. modern Jav. *tuwuk*: satiated).

*Canto 68, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *ngke ring tiktiki*, with note: mistake for Skt *tintiqṭi*: tamarind. Berg (R. p. 193) supposes that *tiktik* is synonymous with *tuktuk* and *toktok*, meaning: crown, top. As *tintiqṭi* is not mentioned in KBNW whereas *tiktik* is (though with a derived meaning: clitoris) Berg may be right. Kr note: *sakeng*, m.c. Ke: *ambara*.

68—4—2: Ke, Berg and Uhlenbeck-Teeuw all translate: the village of Palungan. *Deṣa* in the Nāg. idiom is to be rendered: rural district, v. gl. Probably instead of *Palungan*, *Pulungan*, the well-known Kapulungan, is to be read. In C the writing is not clear.

68—4—3: Ke: *kamal*.

68—4—4: Ke: *cināpa*, Skt spelling. Berg (R. p. 37) translates: even



at the moment that he still was in the sky. Change of grammatical subject in a sentence is unidiomatic in Javanese. The usual meaning of *pāntara*: interstice, makes good sense in this verse, and so does the usual meaning of *tēkwan*: naturally. *Munggwā ri* is a better reading than *munggw iri*.

*Canto 68, stanza 5, verse 1*: Ke: *tugw ānggōh* and *tambay*. *Tugwānggōh* is to be analysed: *tugwa ānggōh*. *Tugu* is given the affixed -a to mark the intention. Both the usual meaning of *ānggōh*: fixed relation, fitting in some system, office, and of *tambay ing*: the beginning of, make good sense in this verse. Berg's translation (R. p. 37) is altogether too free, disregarding the grammatical construction: (therefore the tree) was considered as a beacon (of danger) and from that time onwards people became so afraid that they wanted to leave their dwellings.

68—5—2: Ke: *hetunyān* and *bhāmī Jawātunggala*. Berg (R. p. 37) translates too freely: Therefore the temple was founded, which could make Java healthy and united. Temple is not a correct rendering of *dharma*, nor healthy of *wahy(a)*.

68—5—3: Ke: *sthityā* and *sabhāmi*. Berg's free translation: so that the people would not go away (from their places) misses the point. *Linggar* seems to be used only metaphorically in the Nāg. idiom. In this verse it seems to be a stop-gap.

68—5—4: As *sakala* in the Nāg. idiom usually means: exoteric *sakalabhūmi* is best translated: all countries on earth. No doubt the expression refers to the two moieties of the realm.

In C the cantos 68 and 69 are not separated by the usual double *pada*. As canto 68 has 19 feet in a verse and canto 69 has 20 the scribe overlooked the difference in metre.

*Canto 69, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *Prajñāpāramitāpurī*.

69—1—2: Ke: *ḡṛī Jñānawidhy apratiṣṭha*. Neither Ke nor Berg bring out clearly enough that *apraṭiṣṭha* is the name of a ceremony.

69—1—3: Ke: *labdhaweṣa*. Kr note: *labdhāweṣa*, which is a fixed epithet. Ke: *sarwawāgamañña*. The meaning of *sotan* seems to be: for, because.

69—1—4: Ke: *sāḡṣāt, Bhārāḍa* and *nī twas narendra*. *Twas narendra*, without connection (*i* or *ing*) between the words, would be a compound. Probably *ṭṛṭi ning sang narendra* is a better reading.

*Canto 69, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *tekāri* and *rājapatnī-dhinarmma*. *Mwang tekāri* is to be analysed: *mwang ta iki iri*, v. comm. Berg's free translation (R. p. 37) with insertions and stressing in accordance with his theories: But this here in Bhayalangō is the place where H.M. the Rājapatnī is *laid to rest*, is unwarranted by the text.

69—2—2: Berg translates: For Jñānawidhī was ordered to perform (the ceremonies). "For" is not in the text.

69—2—3: Ke: *hetunyan*.

69—2—4: Berg's translation (R. p. 37) arbitrarily divides the great mandarin, chamberlain Bhoja, into two persons. Ke: *utsāha wijā*.

*Canto 69, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *pinājā* and *sarwvadeṣa*.

69—3—2: Ke: *Weṣapuri pakuvvan i kabhaktyan*. *Yāvat weṣapuri pakuvvan akabhaktyan* seems to be the best reading, v. comm.

69—3—3: Ke: *amātya brahma*, which does not make sense. Evidently the verse is corrupt. *Amātya grāma* is a plausible emendation.

69—3—4: Ke: *mukti* and *wiṣeṣeṅg*.

CHAPTER 10 — THE ROYAL PROGRESS OF 1363  
from Majapahit to Simping and back.

Canto 70, 3 stanzas.

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Canto 70, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *anilāṣṭānah*, with note: a word having the value twelve is wanted. Probably it was *ina*; sun, m.c. written with a long *a*. Prb (O.V. 1921, p. 28) reads: *anilāṣṭane*, i.e.: *anila-aṣṭa-ina-i*. *Anilāṣṭenā* seems the most idiomatic reading.

70—1—2: Ke: The usual meaning of *angaliḥ*: to move, fits well in this verse., cf. 61—4—4. The respectful pronoun *sira* can only refer to the *dharma*, the religious domain. As a rule *sira* refers to persons. The application to the sacred abode of a revered ancestor is thinkable, though.

Canto 70, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *ḥivāgama*, m.c.

70—2—2: *Adhiṣṭhāna* is the name of a ceremony: erection, cf. *adhiṣṭhita*, 56—1—3. Ke's translation: to hold an office, is unacceptable.

70—2—3: The usual meaning of *ḍawēg*: justly, properly, makes good sense in this verse, cf. modern Javanese *ḍawēg*. Ke: *gopurāmekalā*. Kr note: *gopura mekalā*, m.c.

Canto 70, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *pura*, Skt spelling.

70—3—2: Ke: *ādhiṃmantri*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *Gajahmada*, m.c.

70—3—4: The usual meanings of *wyakti*: accurate, clear (modern Javanese *yēkti*: true) and of *antuk*: come home, make good sense in this verse. Probably in this verse *antuk* has the same sense as *ulih* in 31—4—4: prize brought home from an expedition.

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CHAPTER 11 — GAJAH MADA'S DEATH IN 1364.  
THE NEW OFFICIALS

Cantos 71 and 72, 9 stanzas.

Canto 71, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *sabhuwana*, m.c.

71—1—2: Ke: *irikang Çakābda*, m.c. Ke and Kr note: the chronogram consists of the words *rasa*, *tanu* and *ina*. The next word is *āṣa*: distressed, mentioned in KBNW.

71—1—3: Kr note: *ing samastabhuvana*, m.c. *Satṛṇṇa*, covetous, selfish and *masih ing samasta bhuvana*, loving the universal world, are opposites. Prb is right in reading *tuhun i kadivoyacittanira* instead of Ke's *tuhun ika diṇoyacittanira*. The usual meaning of *tuhun*: true, verily, makes good sense in this verse.

71—1—4: Ke: *atutur* and *juga ginöng*, erroneously omitting *tang*.

Canto 71, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *pahöm narendra haji rāma sang prabhu*. *Haji* refers to King Hayam Wuruk himself, as usual. If *haji* is not taken in this sense Hayam Wuruk would be missing in this list of the nine members of the dynastic council, which is improbable. The terms father, mother and sister are to be understood in the Javanese sense: members of the elder and of the same generation. Apparently Ke did not see this.

71—2—2: Ke: *ibu*, *athawānuja* and *tumut*.

71—2—3: Instead of *gumuṇadoṣa*, *saguṇadoṣa* seems a better reading.

71—2—4: Ke: *twas mangun*, corrected by Kr according to C: *amangun*. *Lawōn* means: for a long time, modern Javanese: *laun*.

Canto 71, stanza 3, verse 1: Kr note: *kēte*, m.c. *Kliang* seems a better reading.

71—3—2: Neither Ke nor Prb offer a plausible translation of *kewēhanyo*. *Kewēhan ya tikanang jagat* seems the best reading.

71—3—3: Ke: *sādhw* and *narendra*. The usual meaning of *sādhw*: virtuous, fits well in this place: it often has the sense of faithful, loyal.

Prb's reading *amātya śaḍ*, six *amātyas*, is to be rejected, for *amātya* is not the name of an office, but rather of a class of people.

71—3—4: Ke: *pituhunēn* and *parawiwāda tanpanasara*. The usual meanings of *mucap*: to say, to mention, and of *wēruh*: to know, to see, to take care of, make good sense in this verse. *Parawiwāda* is a parallel of modern Javanese *parapadu* (*para*: common).

*Canto 72, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *gupta*.

72—1—2: The usual meaning of *wiwēka*: discernment, makes good sense in this verse.

72—1—3: Ke: *wyḍdhamantri*, Skt spelling.

72—1—4: Ke translates *ātma rāja*: the King's intimate. No doubt Kr and Prb are right in taking *Ātmarāja* and *Tanḍing* for names.

*Canto 72, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *iṇḍik i narendra*, translated: near. Prb reads: *andika*, translated: speech, in accordance with modern Javanese *andika*. Neither translation makes really good sense. *Aṇṭik i narendra* seems a better reading. *Aṇṭik* (not mentioned in KBNW) is to be identified with modern Javanese *aṇṭek*: companion, mate. No doubt *aṇṭek* is related to modern Javanese *kaṇṭi*: in company with.

72—2—2: Ke tries to translate *wīra maṇḍalika*. No doubt Kr and Prb are right in taking *Wīramanḍalika* for a name.

72—2—4: Ke: *manāma tumanggung*.

*Canto 72, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *wīra*, m.c.

72—3—2: Ke: *nityaśādhīpati*, Skt spelling.

72—3—3: Ke: *ri Dompō*, m.c.

72—3—4: Ke: *sēk akwang*, m.c. Prb's reading *angkwang* seems better.

*Canto 72, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *ni paṅgādi sumantri*. Prb's reading: *ni sang adhisumantri* is better. For *ādhi* instead of *adhi* v. 72—3—1: *adhigūṇa*.

72—4—2: Ke calls *aṣṭapādā* corrupt. He proposes to read *akṣapāṣa*, Skt *akṣapāṣaka*: judge. Probably Prb is right in reading: *haṣṭapāda haji*: hands and feet of our lord. Martha A. Muusses's emendation *aṣṭapā*: eight-footed (spider), connected by her with "the eight aspects of a King's rule" is far-fetched. The usual meaning of *don*: purpose, makes good sense in this verse.

72—4—3: *Mawwat* is to be translated literally: to convey, to bring in.

72—4—4: Ke: *uḥapatti*, usual spelling. Both Ke and Prb fail to

translate *ndan*, which opens a new sentence. *Making* (from *iring*) is to be rendered: to have for company, for following, which makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 72, stanza 5, verse 1*: Kr note: *patih Dami*.

72—5—2: Prb reads: *hinajyan*, translated: obeyed. *Haji*, our lord, in the Nāg. idiom as a rule: King Hayam Wuruk, seems inappropriate as apposition to *yurwamantri*: junior mandarin. Moreover one would expect *hinaji*, not *hinajyan*. *Ngajeni*, to value, seems to belong to a younger idiom than the 14th century Nāg.'s. Probably the right reading is *rinakryan*, from *rakryan*, the usual predicate, rendered: Right Honourable, of an important *visir*.

72—5—3: Both Ke and Prb fail to translate *tikang*. Probably *patih Tikang* (perhaps to be emended *Tihang*: "Stand-ready") is the official name and *mpu Singha* the personal name with title (cf. *mpu Tanḍing*, *mpu Nāla* and *patih Dami*).

72—5—4: Ke: *sakawēkas naranātha*. In the Nāg. idiom *kawēkas* means: left behind, and the omission of *i* or *ing* before *naranātha* would be unidiomatic. *Sapawēkas* seems a better reading.

*Canto 72, stanza 6, verse 1*: Kr note: *an samangkana*, m.c.

72—6—2: Ke: *langgēng apagēh*, m.c.

## CHAPTER 12 — LIST OF DOMAINS

belonging to the Royal Family  
and to religious communities

Cantos 73—78, 21 stanzas.

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Canto 73, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *atīyatna*, m.c.

73—1—2: Ke: *hasinghit* and *āgama*. The usual meaning of *asinghit*: to incline to, makes good sense in this verse.

73—1—3: Ke: *pakṣapāta yat*. Prb's reading *yan* seems better. The usual meanings of *wibhūti*: magnificence, and of *nirukti*: matching, fit well in this verse.

73—1—4: Ke: *sakala*, m.c.

Canto 73, stanza 2, verse 2: Ke: *ikang* m.c. and *nirengapi*.

73—2—3: In *praśāstyana* the suffix *-a* (subjunctive mood) is clearly discernible. The grammatical form *praśāstyana* could be explained in different ways; the meaning is clear, though.

73—2—4: Ke: *tēmahā*, m.c.

Canto 73, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *makādi*, m.c.

73—3—2: Ke: *Tuban*. Kr note restores *Tuḍan*. As *mangādi* (not mentioned in KBNW) makes no sense *suḍarmma* is to be read, v. 73—3—1. Berg's interpretation of *mangādi*: first ancestor (R. p. 268) is unfounded.

73—3—4: Ke: *Pugēr*; both Kr and Prb restore: *Pagör*.

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Canto 74, stanza 1, verse 1: *Antahpura* is the name of a domain, v. gl.

74—1—2: Ke: *Buddha-Kuñcir*. Kr note restores: *Buddhi-Kuñcir*.

Canto 74, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *saptawingga*, m.c.

74—2—4: *Wiku rāja*, synonymous with *wiku haji*, seems a better reading than *wiku rājya*.

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Canto 75, stanza 1, verse 1: Prb's reading *wruherika* is plausible.

75—1—3: Ke: *dhīrotsāha*. Ke's remark that the verse is unmetrical

is right. Kr note reads: *dñrotsāha sadā kuminkin i parārtha swastha sang çrī narendra*, which makes good sense.

75—1—1: Ke: *tan mukti*. *Swakāryya* is to be connected with the following *ri gēnga* (subjunctive mood).

Canto 75, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*.

75—2—2: Ke: *Çānvādhyakṣa sirāṅ*, m.c. and *runakṣā*, m.c.

75—2—4: Ke: *rakṣake*, m.c.

Canto 76, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *hoir ning*, m.c., *Kañci*.

76—1—2: Ke: *Kuṣa lamba*. *Kuṣi lamba* is quite plausible.

76—1—3: Kr note: *parhyanggan*, m.c. Ke: *Harinandanottamasuka*, Skt spelling.

Canto 76, stanza 2, verse 1: Kr note: *ing Jaya*, m.c. Ke: *Sphaṭikeyang* (?). Perhaps Prb is right in reading *Sphaṭike Yang*. As in the the Nāg. idiom the old form *Hyang* still was in use -e *Hyang* would be the correct reading.

76—2—2: Ke: *Dayamuka*, a slip of the pen for *Jayamuka*, restored by Kr.

76—2—4: Ke: *Rati-Mannathāçrama*. Kr note: *Kulā Kaling*, m.c. and *Batu putih pwa teka*, m.c. *Kulang-kaling* seems a better reading; in modern Jav. *kolang-kaling* is the name of the fruit of the sugar-palm. Many localities in Java are named after trees.

Canto 76, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *kawinayānu*, m.c. Kr note: *Wipulārame Kuṣi*, m.c.

76—3—2: Ke: *Yānatrayarājadhānya*. Probably *Yānatraya* and *Rājadhānya* are two separate names.

76—3—4: Ke: *Panghawān*. Kr note restores: *Panghapwan*. *Tēpas-Jati* is more likely than *Tēpas-Jita*. Ke: *Wanāçrama*.

Canto 76, stanza 4, verse 1: No doubt Prb is right in taking *Baryyang* for the name of a place.

76—4—4: *Anwaya*, Skt: progeny, is not mentioned in KBNW. Probably it is a chancery term. Ke: *sōk* instead of *sōn*.

Canto 77, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *Īçānabajra* and *tadā*. Prb is right in reading *Nadītaṭā*.

77—1—3: Ke: *Boddhimāla*. Kr note: *Anurētasabhā*, m.c. *Bangbangir i*, m.c.

77—1—4: Kr note: *çuri* and *Nandinagara*, m.c.



*Canto 77, stanza 2, verse 1:* Ke: *Palobdhi Tangkil*. Kr note, following Brandes (Not. BG 1899, p. 67): *Walaṇḍit* and *Angkil*. Prb: *Palanḍi(t) Tangkil*. As *tangkil* is the name of a tree probably *Walaṇḍit* and *Tangkil* are the correct names. Ke and Prb: *Asahing. Asah ing Samici* seems a better reading.

77—2—2: Kr note: *Māgēnēng*, m.c.

*Canto 77, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *len teng*, m.c.

77—3—4: Ke: *pacarccan*.

*Canto 78, stanza 1, verse 1:* Ke: *i ~ - Sumpud. Ikanang Sumpud* seems a plausible reading.

78—1—3: Ke: *sabha*, Skt spelling.

78—1—4: Kr note: *ning sarāt*. Prb links up this verse with the next stanza, which is unusual in the Nāg. Instead of *kotama* the usual *uttama* is to be read.

*Canto 78, stanza 2, verse 2:* Ke: *śma ta — pratiṣṭa*. Prb is right in supposing a negation before *pratiṣṭa*. As *tanpa pratiṣṭa* would be unmetrical *tan apratiṣṭa* is the only plausible reading.

78—2—4: Ke: *kaṣaivāṅgurān*.

*Canto 78, stanza 3, verse 3:* Ke: *Kājar Ddāna hañar*. Kr note: *Jalagiri*, m.c.

78—3—4: Ke: *Waṇḍayan* and *karṣyanghuran*. Prb: *Waṇḍeyan*.

*Canto 78, stanza 4, verse 1:* Prb is right in taking *Dharmamārṣi* for the name of a place.

78—4—2: Ke: *Gandhātrap*. Kr note restores: *Gandātṛp. Gandākṛp* is a plausible reading, for *kērēp*, dense, is often found in names of places in connection with the name of a tree. Ke: *Haraṣālan Ampu*. As *nampu* is the name of a medicinal herb *Haraṣāla Nampu* is the right reading. No doubt *kakadang-hajyan* is a chancery term, a derivation of *kadang-haji*: Royal kinsman. The usual meaning of *gahan*: noted, makes good sense in this verse.

78—4—3: Ke: *Çuci*. Kr note restores: *Çuci*. Prb is right in taking *Simā-Kiyal* for a name. Probably *Simā-Nadi* is a name too.

*Canto 78, stanza 5, verse 1:* Ke: *kālap ing*. Kr note: *kalap*, m.c. *Kalating* seems a plausible name of a place. *Wangṣa Wiṣṇu* is a chancery term.

78—5—2: Ke: *Tanggulyan*.

78—5—3: Ke: *Kēlut. Mēḍang hulen hyang* is a chancery term.

78—5—4: *Andēl Mas* seems a plausible name of a place.

*Canto 78, stanza 6, verse 1*: The usual meaning of *anēlat* (from *sēlat*): to have a place between two others, makes good sense in this verse.

78—6—2: Ke: *sapratīṣṭa ng ilu* and *tanpratiṣṭāpagēh*. Kr note restores: *tanpa pratiṣṭāpagēh*.

78—6—3: Ke: *kacaṇḍikān*. C's *kasangghikān* is to be retained. The usual meaning of *bhukti*: evidence, legal proof, makes good sense in this verse. Neither Ke nor Prb saw this.

*Canto 78, stanza 7, verse 1*: *Sāgara* and *Kukub* are names of places.

78—7—2: Ke: *ṛṣi*, Skt spelling.

78—7—3: Ke: *caturācrame*, Skt spelling. Prb reads: *Pecira, Butwan* and *Lutwanu, Kupang*. The name is *Lutwanwa*, modern Javanese: *Lutwano*.

78—7—4: The usual meanings of *mangācra*: to look for support, and *thāni*: peasants' land, make good sense in this verse. As *lra* is not often used substantively perhaps *lwirnya* is the right reading. Ke's translation of *janggan*: vegetable soup, is a misunderstanding. The soup is called *jangan* in modern Javanese.

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# CHAPTER 13 — ORGANIZATION OF THE CLERGY AND ROYAL AUTHORITY

*Cantos 79—82, 14 stanzas.*

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*Canto 79, stanza 1, verse 1:* The usual meaning of *adēg*: establishment makes better sense in this verse than Ke's and Prb's translation: state.

79—1—2: Ke: *huluntyang* (?), by Kr restored: *hulun hyang*. *Hila-hila hulun hyang* seems to be synonymous with *mēdang hulun hyang*.

79—1—3: Ke: *sapramāṇā* and *nispramāṇā*; the suffixed -a refers to the eventuality. *Ginēgwan*, kept, does not make good sense in this verse. Perhaps *sinikwan*, censured (from *siku*) is the right reading.

79—1—4: Ke: *mantuk* and *ingng Aryya*. Kr note restores: *i songng Aryya*. The meaning of *sinalahakēn*: declared to be in the wrong (*salah*) fits well in this verse.

*Canto 79, stanza 2, verse 1:* Ke: *manapaka rikang*, m.c. Kr note restores *rikanang*.

79—2—2: Ke: [ri] *gōng*. Kr note restores *ri*, which is in C.

79—2—3: Ke: *kapwāgēgwan* and *sira mīwō*. Kr note restores: *siran umīwō*. The *Patik-guṇḍala* text is edited and translated in the present book.

79—2—4: Ke: *ṣāṣana ṣrī narendra*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 79, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *nāṣāntare Bāly amatēhan i sēcāra ring*. Kr note: *apapatēhan i*, m.c. Prb's reading: *amatēh anut i* makes the best sense. *Anūt* is better orthography than *anut*, though.

79—3—2: Ke: *dharmma mwan grāma lawan*. Kr note: *lāwan*, m.c. *Grāma* instead of *āgrāma* (Ke's hypothesis) is unusual. Probably the right reading is *grāma*. The usual meaning of *adēg*: establishment makes good sense in this verse.

79—3—3: Ke: *munggwing* and *Baḍahalwing*. Kr's reading: *Baḍa-hulu muwah i Lwāgajah* is better, v. 14—3—2.

79—3—4: Ke: *wruh ri*, to be rendered: to have the supervision over.

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*Canto 80, stanza 1, verse 2:* Berg (R. p. 138) connects *ng Ādirājya Kuturan* and translates: Kuturan's super-kraton. This translation is unusual, and moreover the number of six *kabajaradharans* mentioned in the next verse is not made full. As Baḍung is a well-known place this seems a more plausible reading than *Bahung*.

80—1—4: Ke: *makādi*, m.c. Probably *Rājasanmata*, "Royal Delight", is a name.

*Canto 80, stanza 2, verse 1:* Probably the name is *Sulang-Lēmah*. As *lēmah* means (piece of) flat land (v.gl.) *lēmah i Lampung* would be an unusual expression. The country of Lampung would be *bhāmi* or *tanah Lampung*, cf. *bhāmi* or *tanah Jawa*.

80—2—2: Ke: *Gr̥hasthadhara* and *amaṭh*. As the whole of stanza 2 refers to one Sumatran sanctuary called *Tathāgatapura* the following *g̥r̥hasthadhara* is an apposition.

80—2—3: Kr note is right in translating *nṛpati*: the Princess, v. comm. Ke: *rasārkkā*; note: *bhyoma* is Skt *wyoma*.

80—2—4: Ke: *abhāmi cūddha*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 80, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *sapramāṇa* and *narapati*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *mapag̃h*, m.c. This stanza and the next one refer to King Hayam Wuruk, the Prabhu.

80—3—2: Ke: *kīrti* and *sakāwakanya*. The meaning of *kāwakan*: embodiment, form, makes good sense in this verse.

80—3—3: Ke: *swabhāwa* and *wibhuh*, Skt spelling. *Swabhāwa ni sang uttama* seems a better reading than *swabhāwa sang inuttama*.

80—3—4: Ke: *kīrti* and *prabhu*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 80, stanza 4, verse 1:* Kr note: *taya ning*, m.c.

80—4—2: Ke: *tināt sawalēr*. Prb reads: *sawalēring*. The verse is corrupt. Perhaps the best reading is: *tinapak tinātas awalēr*.

80—4—4: Ke: *sabhuwana*, m.c.

*Canto 81, stanza 1, verse 1:* *Gōng ny ārambha* is an exclamation: how great is the undertaking!

81—1—2: Ke: *rinakṣeniwō*. The meaning of *pūrawacāra*: ancient customs, makes good sense in this verse.

81—1—3: In the Nāg. idiom *utsāha* means: diligent and *yatna*: zealous. The meaning of *don*: aim, fits well in this verse.

*Canto 81, stanza 2, verse 2:* Ke reads: *tētēp*, fixed. C's reading *tēgēp* is to be connected with *srēgēp*: conscientious. *Atutur*, mindful, is found in some more places in the text at the end of a verse.

*Canto 81, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: paḍa sthiting cāsana, Skt spelling.*

*81—3—3: Ke: suṣṭila, Skt spelling.*

*81—3—4: Ke: waiṣya, Skt spelling and swakāryyāpagēh.*

*Canto 81, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: janma catur sujanma. Probably C's reading janmi catur: four groups of people (Skt janmin) is right.*

*81—4—2: The usual meaning of gati: course, going, makes good sense in this verse.*

*81—4—3: Ke: swaṣṭila.*

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*Canto 82, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: siniwi.*

*82—1—2: Ke: norang, m.c.*

*82—1—3: Ke: amwangi. The usual meaning of amwang: to take care of, makes good sense in this verse. Agawe means: to make, to build, Ke's translation: to observe (virtues) is unidiomatic, v. comm.*

*82—1—4: Ke: penak ṣṛi narendra pratuha. Penan means: brother-in-law, v.g. Probably pranuha (not mentioned in KBNW) is a term of relationship meaning: calling another senior (atuha), i.e. junior in relation to another member of the family belonging to the same generation. In fact King Hayam Wuruk's sister the Princess of Pajang and his maternal cousin the Princess of Lasēm both were his juniors, so their husbands, the King's "brothers-in-law", were considered his juniors too. They are mentioned in the next stanza.*

*Canto 82, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: dharmāparimita, Skt spelling. There is no reason to put the translation in the plural as Ke does.*

*82—2—2: Ke: nāthe.*

*82—2—3: No doubt Kr note is right in thinking that this verse must refer to King Hayam Wuruk's first brother-in-law the Prince of Paguhan. Probably the name Paguhan is hidden in Sthāna just like the name Matahun is hidden in Watsari (Skt watsara: year: Javanese tahun). Ṣṛi nāthe Sthāne seems a plausible emendation, v. comm.*

*Canto 82, stanza 3, verse 1: Asira-siran means: to try to outvie each other (KBNW sub siran).*

*82—3—3: Muniwara is a plural like the preceding pitṛgaṇa. If any person in particular was meant some predicate like sang would be necessary.*

*82—3—4: Ke: prabhu, m.c.*

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CHAPTER 14 — THE ANNUAL COURT  
FESTIVAL IN MAJAPAHIT

Cantos 83—91, 45 stanzas.

Canto 83, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *siniwāng*.

83—1—2: Ke: *çarat*, Skt spelling.

83—1—3: Ke: *sajjamūsih*, Skt spelling.

Canto 83, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *rabdhekanang*, m.c.

83—2—4: *Pañjyangjīwa*, *Lekan* and *Tangar* are titles connected with functions, not to be translated as Ke tried to do. The usual meaning of *umungup*: to arise, to appear, makes good sense in this verse. It is worthy of record that in C the character *ngā* is written in afterwards. It is not blackened like the other characters. This is a proof of accuracy either on the part of the original scribe or of some later reader, trying to correct an error in the text after the writing was finished.

Canto 83, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *dwija parama mahākāwya anindyāgamajña*. Of course Ke meant to write: *mahākāwyanindyāgamajña*.

83—3—2: Kr note: *kawruhnira*, m.c. Ke: *mahākāwya naiyāyikādi*, Skt spelling. As *mahākāwya* in this verse does not make sense, *rikang sāngkya* is to be read, v. comm.

83—3—3: Ke: *ṣaṭkarmmaçuddha*, Skt spelling.

83—3—4: Ke: *āstām çrī Wiṣṇu sakte çama japa*. The usual meaning of *çakta*, powerful, makes good sense in this verse. So does C's reading *samajapa* (Skt: *sāman*).

Canto 83, stanza 4, verse 1: Kr note: *hetunyānantarang*, m.c.

83—4—2: Ke: *Jambudwīpa*. Kr note: *Kāmboja* and *Campā*.

83—4—3: The usual meanings of *sangkan*: origin, and of *milu*: to join, to go in company, fit well in this verse. *Pota* seems a better reading than *poṭra*.

Canto 83, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *Phālguna*, Skt spelling.

83—5—2: Ke: *mantrī*, m.c.

83—5—4: Ke: *waṇik ring*, and *atēp saruwabhāṇḍanya*. *Atip* makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 83, stanza 6, verse 2*: Ke: *angkĕn dinembuh sasiki* and *niwedya*.

83—6—3: Ke: *Çaiwa*, Skt spelling.

83—6—4: Ke: *amwĕt ingng* and *swastha ni*.

*Canto 84, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *wijil*: came out. Probably C's reading *i wijil* refers to the time of day: sunrise, about 6 a.m.

84—1—2: Ke: *midĕr ing*, because the subjunctive mood *midĕreng* does not fit well in this verse. Ke: *kanakādi*, Skt spelling.

84—1—3: Ke: *mahawan lantaran*. Kr note: *lantaran an* (?), m.c. The translations of *lantaran* (substituted for C's *lanĕaran*) by forerunner (Ke) or procession (Prb) are doubtful. The verse is corrupt. Probably the correct reading is: *jamĕana mahawan kanĕa pura n atuntun*. *Lanĕaran* and *kanĕa pura n* are easily interchangeable.

84—1—4: Ke: *bhujanggādi* and *angiring*. *Çiwabhujangga*, translated by Ke: Shiwaite clergy, is an impossible compound, found nowhere in the Nāg. Prb reads *saciwa* instead of *saçiva*, which would have been an improbable error in Javanese script. No doubt the beginning of verse 4 is corrupt like the end of verse 3. The clergy (*bhujangga*) as such did not take part in the procession, v. comm. Probably the original reading is in accordance with canto 83—5—2 and canto 84—5—4: *mantri sing adhika ring bhūmi Jawa manganggo dadar angiring sōk*.

*Canto 84, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *paĕahi*. C's reading with -a is found in many places. *Paĕaha*, *mĕdangga*, *çangka* and *tarayan* are names of musical instruments. *Truĕtika* (Ke) or *trut ika* is difficult to explain.

84—2—2: Ke: *manguccāraṇa ng abhiwāda*, Skt spelling.

84—2—4: The usual meaning of *gahan*: noted, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 84, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *manimaya*, m.c.

84—3—3: Both Ke and Prb: *apāja hyang*. Kr note restores C's reading: *arĕja*. Probably *arĕjāhyang* is the correct reading. Instead of *trisura* Prb reads: *Tripura*, Shiwa (?). Perhaps instead of *Tripurasu-rendrā*, the name of a goddess, *Tripuraharendrā* is to be read, v. comm.

84—3—4: Ke: *bhāṣaṇa*, *wuwaṅ* and *mālya*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 84, stanza 4, verse 1*: Ke: *çrĕ* and *pinakāgra*. Whereas *laku* is used with reference to the Princess of Pajang, in 84—5—1, referring to the Princess of Lasĕn, *lampah* is used. As the latter Princess was the inferior in rank of the former one, it is evident that in the Nāg. idiom *lampah* was not suggestive of high rank. *Laku* and *lampah* were merely

interchangeable synonyms as they are in modern Javanese. In canto 84 use of either of the two is dictated by the metre.

84—4—4: Prb reads instead of *paṣahādi* (corruption of *paḍahādi*: drums etc.): *paṭākādi* (penants etc.); *paṭāka* is unmetrical.

Canto 84, stanza 5, verse 2: Ke: *sāmātyabala*. Kr note is right in dropping *saçrī*, m.c.

84—5—3: Ke: *pararājñī* and *sabhartā*. No doubt C's reading *Jīwa-napurarājñī* is right.

84—5—4: Ke: *sa Yāwūwani mangiring*. Çrī *bhāpati* is the King's title.

Canto 84, stanza 6, verse 2: Ke: *çakaṣa*. In a note Ke points out that the verse is corrupt: three syllables are missing. Prb reads: *pinggir ni lēbuh ikā sōk paḍa majajar*. The absence of a locative preposition before *pinggir* is unidiomatic. Probably the correct reading is: *ring pinggir [buh ikā sōk paḍa majajar*.

84—6—3: Ke: *rinṅga*. No doubt Prb is right in reading: *dwārenapi sawawa*, v. comm.

Canto 84, stanza 7, verse 4: Ke: *amuṣṣāñjali*. *Pamēgēt* is found only in this place in the Nāg., v. comm.

Canto 85, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *Caitra*. The meaning of the chancery term *mapulung rahi* is explained by the poet himself: *aḥm apuḥul*.

85—1—3: Ke: *miḥw ang*.

85—1—4: Ke: *āstām*.

Canto 85, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke's translation of *lamlam*: greedy, is incorrect. The meaning is: fascinated, seduced.

85—2—3: Ke note: *wastrādyarāṇa* is corrupt: one syllable is missing. Ke reads: *wastrādyaharāṇa*. *Wastrādyabharāṇa* seems to make better sense, v. comm.

85—2—4: Ke fails to translate *-nya* of *dewastwāḍīnya*.

Canto 86, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *narendra*. *Kewwan narendra* is to be considered as a compound (without connecting link, *-ing* etc.).

86—1—2: Ke: *wawantēn*.

86—1—3: Ke: *swāna*. No doubt C's reading is right. *Sihāna singha* is to be identified with *singhāsana*, v. 84—3—1 and 84—4—2. *Apa-dudwan*, with differences, refers to the palanquins of the Princely



couples. *Matwahana* (m.c. for *matwāhana*) makes better sense than *maka-hawan*.

86—1—4: The usual meaning of *anorakñen*: surpassing, makes good sense in this verse.

*Canto 86, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *akwā*.

86—2—2: Ke: *madhyakroçākara*, Skt spelling.

86—2—3: Ke's translation of *madhyārddhakroça* is: more than a half *kroça*. Skt *ardha*; half, seems to make good sense in this verse.

86—2—4: Ke: *mantri sasōk*. Kr note: *sar sōk*, m.c.

*Canto 86, stanza 3, verse 2*: Ke: *inukiran athāparwā*. Probably Prb's reading: *inukir akathā parwā*, is right.

86—3—4: Ke: *Caitramāsa*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 87, stanza 1, verse 3*: Ke: *sumantri*.

87—1—4: Ke: *sadawatā*. Probably *saḍawata* (written with ḍ) is a variant of *sawarata*, modern Javanese *warata*: level, cf. *arḍḍārata*, 86—2—1.

*Canto 87, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *netrawiṣaya*, Skt spelling.

87—2—2: Ke: *atombokan inadu*. Better sense makes: *atombok hanin adu*, which serves as an explanation of *prang pupuh*: fight by blows, in opposition to *prang taṇḍing*: fight by competition, i.e. match.

87—2—3: Ke: *moghāṅḍani suha*, m.c.

87—2—4: Ke: *lawasirā*, m.c. *Lawasiran* seems a better reading. *Pat mawang tri*, four and three, is a paraphrase of seven, used in this verse m.c.

*Canto 87, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *ryyulih*.

87—3—3: Kr note: *panghwangning*. Ke: *Caitra*, Skt spelling. As *çrama* (Ke's idea, rendered tentatively: champion) is unmetrical, *grāma* (village community) is to be read instead of *çrama*.

*Canto 88, stanza 1, verse 2*: Ke: *dinulur nikāḍhipati*. Kr note: *dinulur nikāḍhipati* — ring, m.c. Probably the best reading is: *dinulur-nikān adhipatin ring eñjing umarēk*.

88—1—4: Ke: *paḍāmwiṭ*.

*Canto 88, stanza 2, verse 1*: Both *andyan* and *handyan* are used in C, which is remarkable. In the Par. and in modern Jav. both *raden* and *rahaden* are found.

88—2—2: Ke: *he kita*. *Aniwy anātha ri haji* means literally: Protector-obedient, i.e. loyal, with reference to our lord.

88—2—3: *katwēṣṣyan asing angdanī hajēnganing pradeṣa* seems to make better sense than C's reading.

88—2—4: Ke: *ḍamārgga*, m.c. Ke's translation of *setu* by bridges is corrected by Prb: the meaning is: dams.

Canto 88, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *asing tinandur ika wēddhya*.

88—3—2: Prb's translation of *pinakaramāḱēn*: made into *karāman* property, is right. Probably the last words of the verse are to be read: *tanpa dadya wālahā*. The modern Javanese words *wālahā*, *wlaha*, *lahan* mean: unprofitable, useless, which makes good sense in this verse.

88—3—3: *amaradeṣa*, a derivation of Skt *paradeṣa*: other districts, is to be translated: to go to other districts, v. comm.

88—3—4: Ke: *usirēn*.

Canto 88, stanza 4, verse 1: Instead of *hamaywani*, *humaywani* is to be read.

88—4—2: Ke: *mahānasa rika* and *sadā*. Prb's translation of *mahānasa ika*: the transgressors, seems plausible. Probably *ring pējah ṣaṣi sādā* is to be translated: at the end of the month *Āṣāḍha*, the 12th month, June-July, v. comm.

88—4—3: *añidra lawanan* seems a plausible reading, v. comm.

88—4—4: Ke: *prabhu*, Skt spelling.

Canto 88, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *magare-*, Skt spelling, and *sumantēn*. *Upaṣama* is the correct Skt spelling.

88—5—2: Ke: *somya* and *wiṣama*. The verse contains a play upon the words *sāmya* and *wiṣama*, therefore *sāmya* is to be retained.

88—5—3: No doubt Prb's interpretation of *palawang* as the name of a tax is right. Probably the correct reading is: *hanānēlēwatā*; *anēlēwat*, from *sālēwat*, might be a variant of *haliwat*: to pass by.

88—5—4: Ke: *somya*. The last words of this verse *sāmyalahṣaṇa* refer to *sāmya-wiṣama* in the beginning of the King's speech. *Pasēgēh* is the name of a kind of tax, v. next stanza.

Canto 89, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *yan padang*. C's reading *paḍang*: light, makes good sense in this verse.

89—1—3: Ke: *sāhasika*.

89—1—4: Ke: *tut sasinambut*. C's reading: *sasinambat* makes better sense. *Tut* is an imperative. In modern Jav. the suffix *-ēn* would be used.

Canto 89, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *singha*, m.c.

89—2—2: Ke: *upaṣṭwa*, Skt spelling.

89—2—3: Ke: *nika* and *tēkāgrēwēka*. Prb reads instead of *waya*: *weya*, which is unmetrical. The usual meaning of *waya*: to exist, to be present, makes good sense in this verse, where it is used in opposition to *taya*.

89—2—4: Ke: *hetunikān*.

Canto 89, stanza 3, verse 3: Ke: *ang anangkil*.

89—3—4: Ke: *ʃog*.

Canto 89, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *witāna*, Skt spelling.

89—4—2: Ke: *para wadana*.

89—4—3: Ke: *tikang laḍah*, m.c.

89—4—4: Ke: *tikang*, m.c.

Canto 89, stanza 5, verse 1: Ke: *madhupa*, Skt spelling.

89—5—2: Ke reads: *mīna lawan tikang aṇḍa haja ring aji loka-purāṇa*, translated: fish, eggs and goats. Prb's reading: *aṇḍah ajaring aji* is more plausible. Being aquatic animals fish and duck were considered related meats.

89—5—3: Ke: *wiyung alpa*, m.c. *Kura*, tortoise, seems a better reading than *kara* (Ke: donkey).

89—5—4: *Phala* is a better reading than *cala*.

Canto 90, stanza 1, verse 2: Ke: *sarwawarajasa*. Prb: *sarwawarajaja*. C's reading *rajatha* (mis-spelled Skt *rajata*: silver) makes good sense in this verse. Instead of *bhojana*, *bhājana* (plate) is to be read.

90—1—3: Ke translates *matsya* seq.: fishes of the land and of the water, adding a note on the use in Skt of the word *matsya* with reference to quadrupeds, e.g.: *kudyamatsya*: lizard. No doubt in the Nāg. idiom *matsya* is merely a substitute of Jav. *iwak*, which means meat in general, fish included.

Canto 90, stanza 2, verse 1: The reading *kura* (tortoise) instead of C's *kara* makes good sense, cf. canto 89—5—3.

90—2—2: Ke: *sakterika* and *tuṣṭa*. *Winahan* is a derivative from *wah*: flood. Instead of *tamah*, which does not make good sense, *tēmah* is to be read.

Canto 90, stanza 3, verse 2: Ke: *twak nyā twak siwalan arak*, translated: palmwine from coconut-trees, toddy, arak. Probably *arak* is to be linked with *hano*.

Canto 90, stanza 4, verse 2: Ke: *dhātu*, Skt spelling.

90—4—3: Ke: *tanpāntya ng* and *wway*.

90—4—4: Probably *anggapān* means: panting, cf. *gap* (v. glossary).

*Canto 90, stanza 5, verse 1*: Kr note: *prahprah cŕi nŕpati n atweh suka n pamukti*, m.c. *Prah* means: universal.

90—5—2: Kr note: *sakta sapinarān*, m.c. *Sakta ya pinarān* makes better sense. *Larih* means liquor, v. comm.

90—5—3: Ke: *kasēngkwān* (?). Probably the meaning is: covered up (from *sēngku*). As *alah* does not make sense in this verse Prb reads *ulah*. Probably *ri salah* is the best reading.

90—5—4: Ke: *wērō wērō*. The duplicated form *wērō-wērō* means: bemused, and: merry, hoyish. Drunk is *matwērō*, v. gloss. and KBNW. *Lagi* has the modern Javanese sense: just at the point of.

*Canto 90, stanza 6, verse 2*: Ke: *linakwakēnya*. C's reading *linangwakēnya* seems more idiomatic, v. KBNW sub *langō*.

90—6—3: Ke: *anginum*.

90—6—4: As *alah* does not make sense in this verse perhaps *sowenyāлага* is to be read. *Laga*, battle, might refer to the competition of the two (groups of) singers, v. comm.

*Canto 91, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *saha buyut nikana macēmācēh* m.c. Probably the *jurwiyangin* was a female dancer, v. comm.

91—1—2: Ke: *umāmbili*. Prb's translation of *ring cŕwara*: with the sound (of music) seems doubtful. In the Nāg. idiom *cŕwara* (written with *ç*) seems to have the meaning: text of a song.

91—1—4: Ke: *hetunikān winch wasana*. Though grammatically right Ke's translation: the *wadanas* were given clothes, makes little sense. Probably instead of *tang*, *ring* should be read.

*Canto 91, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *ri wēkasan*, a mistake. The meaning of *alarih* seems to be: to drink liquor.

91—2—3: *Titir* is to be connected with *pangidung*.

91—2—4: Ke's and Prb's translations of *manulanggapi*: to join, are unsatisfactory. In modern Javanese *slanggapān ujar* means: to enter into conversation. Probably *manulanggapi* is a technical term belonging to the musical performance. *Slanggap* seems to be related to *tanggap*: to catch, v. comm.

*Canto 91, stanza 3, verse 1*: Ke: *narendra*, m.c. and *angani*.

91—3—2: Ke: *ing padapa*, m.c.

91—3—4: Ke calls his translation of *angungēr i hati*: heart-stirring, pathetic, a mere guess. Probably *anguñērī hati* is a better reading. *Anguñēr* (derived from *uñēr*, not found in KBNW) may confer the sense of piercing or boring continuously in one spot. In modern

Javanese the word is only used metaphorically: to hurt a person's feelings by throwing a suspicion upon him.

*Canto 91, stanza 4, verse 1:* Ke: *āryya*, Skt spelling.

91—4—2: Ke: *āryya*, Skt spelling.

91—4—3: Ke: *an para handyan*, and: *sipa*, a mistake. The emendation *siwan* (*Volksvertoningen*, par. 465) is superfluous.

91—4—4: Ke: *adada-dadakan*. Instead of *umantuk* Prb reads: *umanfuk*, translated: he nodded yes.

*Canto 91, stanza 5, verse 2:* Ke: *rikang witāna*, m.c.

91—5—3: Ke tried unsuccessfully to translate *çori*, *gītada* and *lëkës*, technical terms belonging to the musical play, v. comm.

*Canto 91, stanza 6, verse 2:* Kr note: *girahyasën ikang umulat*, m.c.

91—6—3: Ke: *çori*.

91—6—4: Ke: *gīta*, m.c.

*Canto 91, stanza 7, verse 2:* On *upabhāryya* Ke remarks: perhaps assistant. Probably Prb is right in reading *saphala* instead of *sawala*.

91—7—3: Ke: *amātyawangça*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *suwicakṣaṇa*, m.c. *Ya wicakṣaṇa* seems more idiomatic.

91—7—4: Ke: *hetu nirānpabañal*. Kr note restores C's reading: *pabañwal* (modern Javanese: *bañol*).

*Canto 91, stanza 8, verse 1:* Ke: *nawanāṭya*. The Nawanatya text is edited in the present book. The usual meaning of *tinapak*: traced, followed, seems to fit well in this verse. *Tiněwëkakën* is derived from *těwëk*: conclusive moment, conclusion. Probably *těwëk* is related to *tuwuk*: satisfied.

91—8—2: Ke: *pëgat*.

91—8—4: Ke: *hetunikang*. Kr note: *kamānuṣan angangënanğën*. The reading *ing angënanğën* seems more plausible.

*Canto 91, stanza 9, verse 1:* Ke: *arkka*, Skt spelling, and *irikā*.

91—9—4: Ke: *i dalëm*.

## CHAPTER 15 — CONCLUSION

*Cantos 92—98, 18 stanzas.*

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Both the wording and the orthography of cantos 92—98 seem to show more divergencies from the rules of Skt and Old Javanese spelling and metre than the preceding cantos. Probably C's predecessor in the line of manuscripts was damaged at the end which is of frequent occurrence with palm-leaf books.

*Canto 92, stanza 1, verse 2:* Ke: *tā tahhan ta dahat*, m.c. which is unusual. *Tan hangkara dahat* seems to make better sense in connection with the rest of the verse.

*92—1—3:* Ke: *anwam* and *mahārdhika*. *Anwam tapwa ta kabwatan* seems a better reading. Probably *kabwatan*, burdened, refers to the burden of the Royal task. Ke's supposition that it refers to the burden of sensual desires seems singularly out of place in the frame of Javanese ideas on kingship.

*92—1—4:* Ke: *śuddha*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 92, stanza 2, verse 1:* Kr note: *māhuwusan*, m.c. *dudug* and *ambara*.

*92—2—2:* Ke: *jagaddhita*, Skt spelling.

*92—2—3:* Ke: *byaktā mangguh* and *samāhita*, Skt spelling.

*92—2—4:* Ke: *kētā*, m.c. Perhaps *kētan katona* is a better reading. Ke's reading *saṭā* is a mistake. Kr note corrects it: C has *sadā*, which makes good sense. The most idiomatic reading seems to be: *kētan katona nguniueh winuwusana tikang sadā marēk*. In KBNW the form *angwuwusi* is not mentioned. *Mawuwusi* is a poetical expression in modern Javanese, though.

*Canto 92, stanza 3, verse 1:* Ke: *kaprakaṣita*, m.c.

*92—3—2:* Ke: *swara stuti*, Skt spelling.

*92—3—4:* Ke: *astwānirwa* and *bhāmimaṇḍala*, Skt spelling.

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*Canto 93, stanza 1, verse 1:* Ke: *paṇḍiteng* and *kastawan* *Śri narendra*.

93—1—2: Ke: *bhogdwali*, Skt spelling. Ke's translation of *agaway i sira*: made for him, is unidiomatic. It is impossible to express the sense of the dative case in Javanese solely by the preposition *i*. *Sang bhikṣu gawayanira* seems a better reading.

93—1—3: Ke remarks in a note that C's *tonggwānira* is a substitute for *tonggwannira*. Kr note: *Kāñcipuri*, m.c.

93—1—4: Ke: *Sahṛdayāwat* and *çuddha*, Skt spelling.

Canto 93, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *āstām*, Skt spelling. Kr note: *sahana sang* m.c.

94—2—2: Ke: *hapwāgosty āngikēt* and *pamarṇa*. Skt spelling. Ke calls *nggwānireki* a substitute for *nggwannireki*.

93—2—3: *mukyā* (future tense, or subjunctive mood) makes little sense. Perhaps *mukyān* is the correct reading.

93—2—4: Ke: *gīta gītenikēt*, m.c.

Canto 94, stanza 1, verse 1: Ke: *maparab* and *pura*. *Parakawāçwara* being a Skt compound, *para* perhaps has the Skt meaning: other.

94—1—2: Ke: *mīlwāmarṇa ri kastawā nṛpati*, which is a substitute for *kastawan nṛpati*.

94—1—3: Ke: *pakṣa nika*.

94—1—4: Ke *narendra*, Skt spelling. C's long *ā* is a token of respect.

Canto 94, stanza 2, verse 1: Ke: *Çākāḍri*, m.c. Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1958, p. 228) found the exact date: 30/IX/1365 Julian calendar.

94—2—2: Ke: *narendra*, Skt spelling.

94—2—3: Ke: *pinustaka*.

94—2—4: Probably *panghwat* is derived from *hwat*, *humwat*, meaning: to increase in intensity. In modern Javanese *angot* means: to have again a fit of an old illness.

Canto 94, stanza 3, verse 1: Ke: *niruwā teki lawasnirāsring*. As it is improbable the poet used the respectful pronoun *sira* with reference to himself, *lawasning asring* seems a better reading.

94—3—2: Ke: *Çākāḍa*. Kr note: *çakāḍa*, m.c.

94—3—3: Ke: *caturthi Bhāṣmaçaraṇāntya*. Probably the last book was called *Sugataparuwawarṇana* (Ke: *Sugataparwa*).

94—3—4: Ke: *lambang*.

Canto 94, stanza 4, verse 1: Ke: *pāngikēteng*. As a technical term of the poets *mangikēt* can have the sense of celebrating a person in a poem.

94—4—2: Ke: *umastawe haji*.

94—4—3: Ke: *çloka*, Skt spelling.

94—4—4: Ke: *wilaja*. The usual meaning of Skt *wilajja*: shame, seems to fit well in this verse. *Niścaya dadin guyu-guyun* makes better sense than C's *yadin*. In modern Javanese *dadi guyon* means: to become an object of ridicule.

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Prb (BKI 78, 1922, p. 452—460) declared cantos 95—98 to be spurious. He did not attempt a translation. Another opinion on this matter is to be found in the present author's chapter on the structure of the Nāg. in vol. IV.

*Canto 95, stanza 1, verse 1*: Ke: *muak*. The usual meaning of *purih*: aspiration, and of *alēh*, *angalēh*: to dislike, make good sense in this verse. Kr note thinks that *adyah*, noble, refers to the poet himself. KBNW has several quotations sub *dyah*. Usually *adyah* seems to refer to ladies. The prefixed *a-* is to be compared with the *a-* of *apatih* and modern literary Javanese *aprabu* (*sang aprabu*). Perhaps it gives an honorific connotation to the words.

95—1—2: Ke: *tuna ring*, a plausible emendation. According to KBNW the meaning of *rētu* is: sullen.

95—1—3: Ke: *satya*, Skt spelling. *Katilar* instead of *matilar* seems to make better sense.

95—1—4: Ke: *wiphala*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 95, stanza 2, verse 2*: Ke: *tan wuruh aghrēñinalēh*. Kr note: *aghrēñinalēh*, m.c. which does not make good sense. *Tan wuruh ing cry an inalēh* seems a beter reading. *Inalēh ning alara* is a duplicate of *inalēh ing adyah* of 95—1—1.

95—2—3: As *dudāga* makes no sense (the long *a* is out of place) perhaps *jugānu* is to be read. *Mahāmuni* without any honorific predicate is a noun, not the Buddha's title (Ke's suggestion).

95—2—4: *Ta humor* seems to make better sense than *tan umur*. Ke connects the abstract *kriyādāwaya* as subject with the verb *umur*: to go away. In Javanese abstractions are very seldom personified in this manner.

*Canto 95, stanza 3, verse 1*: Perhaps the reading *tan pahi twang atapa*: not different are people practising asceticism, is more idiomatic than C's *tan pahi mwang atapa*: not different from ascetics.

95—3—2: Probably *amati* is a derivation from *ati*, cf. modern Javanese *ngati-ati*: to mind.



95—3—4: The original meaning of *watēk*, *amatēk*: to draw, to attract, makes good sense in this verse. Ke: *nāma nika*, m.c.

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*Canto 96, stanza 1, verse 1*: Kr note: *pracācad*, m.c. Perhaps *cēcēd* is the name of a kind of bird.

96—1—2: The meaning of Jav. *puca*: separated, fits better in this verse than Skt *puccha*: tail. The cheek separated from sleep refers to insomnia. Probably *prapōngpōng* is to be connected with *plēng*: vanished, forgotten. Perhaps *pracongcong* is related to modern Jav. *clongcongan* and *clongclongan*: walking insolently, and to *clunṭangan*: behaving insolently.

*Canto 96, stanza 2, verse 1*: Kr note: *tatan tita tatan tātēn, tētēs tan tāt tan ing tutur*, m.c. The reading *tātātita tāt n tātēn tan tētēs tan tāt ing tutur* would make better sense.

96—2—2: Kr note: *tantri*, m.c. Ke: *tuhun*, a mistake. C's *tutun*, derived from *tutu*, fits well in the alliterating verse.

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*Canto 97, stanza 1, verse 2*: Ke: *tama sansara* and *sanmata*. Kr note: *tyāgā*, m.c.

*Canto 97, stanza 2, verse 1*: Ke: *yaça sang Winadānungsi*, m.c. *Wisangṣaya* is a negation of *sangṣaya*: anxiety.

97—2—2: Ke: *ñbra*, Skt spelling.

*Canto 97, stanza 3, verse 1*: Kr note: *prangnyā*, m.c. Ke: *wāhu*.

97—3—2: It is doubtful whether *ṣūnya prih*, in Javanese, even in these enigmatical verses, can have the meaning: aspiring to *ṣūnya* (Ke's translation). The usual meaning of *ṣūnya*: empty, seems to fit well in this verse. Probably *gal* stands for *tunggal*: number one. *Masa* followed by a subjunctive mood, as indication of an improbable case, is unusual in Old Javanese literature. In modern Jav. it is common. Kr note: *prihnyā*, m.c.

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*Canto 98, stanza 1, verse 1*: Kr note: *juga* is to be left out, m.c.

98—1—3: Ke: *sahanānukani*. Kr note: *sahanānukanika*, m.c.

98—1—4: Kr note: *cinala ri dalēm*, m.c.

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## THE NĀGARA-KĪRTAGAMA COLOPHONS

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In Codex 5023, Legatum Warnerianum, Leyden University Library, the Nāg. text is followed by two colophons (p. 135). Evidently both were added to the text by Balinese scribes. The orthography is mannered. As a mark of distinction several long vowels (*ā*, *ī*) are written in places where they do not belong.

### Colophon I.

The first colophon's Old Javanese grammar is not very good. *Kacaya denira* or *kacayanira* would be more idiomatic than *kacayeng sira*.

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### Colophon II.

The second colophon's orthography and grammar show even more clearly its author's unfamiliarity with classic Old Javanese. The spelling *dyanira* instead of *denira* is a monstrosity. The use of the high-class pronoun *sira*, *-nira* with reference to the author himself is contrary to good manners such as were cultivated at the 14th century Majapahit Court. The 18th century Balinese author showing off his deficient knowledge of Sanskrit grammar (*sāmpārṇaya* instead of *sampārṇāya*) is pathetic.

Damais (*B.E.F.E.O.* 1958, p. 229) found the exact date: 20/X/1740.

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The words beginning in the codex on p. 134b (*kāḍḍa*) up to and including *i dūsun* (95—1—1) are found also, with some clerical errors, on p. 136b. The rest of this page is blank. Evidently the lines were rejected by the scribe as containing too many mistakes, but the reverse side of the leaf, p. 137a, was afterwards utilized for the next text. The scribe thought it a pity to throw away a good palm-leaf.

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II. A PRINCE RECEIVING PRESENTS, SEE P. VIII.

*MINOR WRITINGS*

*NOTES*



# N A W A N A T Y A

according to Ms. Or. Leyden 5091.

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Codex 5091 is a palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the Lombok collection, like the Nāg. codex. The writing is sufficiently clear and the palm-leaves are well preserved. The text is often difficult to translate owing partly to the unfamiliarity of many technical terms and for another part to the scribe's numerous mistakes. No doubt the Nawanatya text which was read at the Majapahit Court has been emended and enlarged considerably in the course of the following centuries, and several generations of Javanese and Balinese scribes have been at work on it. Nevertheless we must be thankful that we have this mutilated text to give us an idea of what the Majapahit Nawanatya probably was like.

The selections that are published and translated in the present book are made with a view to the elucidation of difficult Nāg. passages. The Nawanatya passages that are skipped are few in number. Their contents is mentioned shortly in the commentary in vol. IV.

A subdivision in paragraphs has been introduced into the translation in vol. III in order to facilitate the reading.

*p. 1a (selection 1):* The orthography of Skt in codex 5091 is very irregular. Long *ā*'s are written in many places where they do not belong. In Javanese words initial *h* is used often in words beginning with a vowel in the same manner as is usual in modern Javanese. The spelling Hawanatya (or Awanatya) found twice in p. 1a no doubt is a mistake for Nawanatya. It was suggested to some former scribe by the initial words: *nihan awanatya*, which should be read: *nihan nawanatya*.

*p. 2b (selection 2):* In the list of technical terms of *çrama*, a display of fighting passes and runs, *mbuntulu* seems to be the right reading for *mbantala*, v. comm.

p. 3a: As *linggaphala* does not make sense *linggapraṇḍa*, i.e. Lingga-and-Yoni in the Nāg. idiom, seems a plausible emendation.

p. 3a: Instead of *hana mēngangana bhaṣa* probably *hanamēng-amēng-an abhaṣa* is to be read.

p. 3b: *Pajēng-pajēngan*, not mentioned in KBNW, is to be connected with *hajēng*: beauty, *ahajēng*: beautiful. The meaning seems to be: various things of beauty. The expression is used once more in p. 10a.

p. 3b: The grammatical construction *den kadi hanēmu*, rendered: let it be as if one finds, is much more common in modern Javanese than in the older idiom.

p. 3b: *Hangku kabrahun* is to be read *hamangku kaprahun* in accordance with *hamangku bhtimi*.

p. 3b: *Pragiwaka* is a corruption of Skt *prāḍwivāka*, rendered: giving equitable judgment.

p. 3b: Probably in connection with the following *sarawāgama*, instead of *sarawa haṣṭra*, *sarawa cāstra* should be read.

p. 3b: The words *sama*, *hupaya*, *samahitta*, *parahitta*, *mangulusi drong rodra* are corrupt; the most plausible emendation seems to be: *sāmanupāya*, *sāmoyika*, *parahita*, *mangulus ing drohi rodra*. The meaning of *mangulus* (from *hulus*) seems to be: to outwit, v. KBNW.

p. 3b: In p. 22a *mawḍing lokika*, the reverse of *tan ajruh ring lokika*, is used referring to a wise man. Probably the reading of p. 22a is the right one. Indifference for the opinion of the world (Skt *laukika*) is not considered a virtue in a society of the structure prevailing in 14th century Java.

p. 4a: The rendering of the expression *kahot ing salagan*: superior above his entourage, is tentative.

p. 4a: *Sāmyawangsa* seems the most plausible emendation of *sami wangsa*, which does not make sense.

p. 4a: No doubt *ḍampa rakta* could be read *ḍampar rakta*. In p. 4b and 11b the form *ḍampa* is used again, though, and in the latter place the meaning state-palanquin becomes evident. In the Nāg. *singhāsana*s, portable lion thrones, are mentioned. As a rule a *ḍampar* is a low bench.

p. 4a: *Pawahan* is a defective spelling; *pawwahan*, modern Javanese *pawohan*, a set of several small pots and boxes for the ingredients of the betel quid, is meant.

p. 4a: Though the original meaning of *anugraha* is favour, in this Nawanatya place privilege granted by Royalty seems to be the best rendering.

*p. 4b*: *Paṇḍita rājya* is to be emended: *paṇḍita rāja*, a synonym of *wiku haji*, found frequently in the Nāg.

*p. 4b*: According to KBNW (s.v. *tambara*) the meaning of *tan bhara* seems to be: unsettled, insecure. Probably it refers to tabooed places not open to the public because of supernatural influences being at work there.

*p. 5a*: (*selection 3*): Probably *rāja wana ratu* is corrupt. *Atawa* seems a plausible emendation.

*p. 5a*: As *sadya* does not make sense in this place probably *śānya* should be read instead, which is the opposite of *śabhā*.

*p. 5a*: *Paṇḍita adḍi* is to be read: *paṇḍitādi*.

*p. 5a*: Instead of *kusuma sawarṇa* probably *kusuma sawana* is to be read.

*p. 5a*: The usual meaning of *natya* (Skt *nati*) seems to be: respect. *Smita* (Skt: smile) has in Javanese the meaning: expression of the face, physiognomy. *Pariyaya* is Skt *pariyāya*: circulation; in Javanese it has the sense of knowledge of the ways of the world, tactful behaviour.

*p. 9a*: (*selections 4, 5*): Instead of *yoga ana* probably *ana yogya* should be read.

*p. 9b*: KBNW is vague on the meaning of *pitēngēn* (from *tēngēn*: right). Modern Javanese *nēngēnake*: to be interested in, seems to justify the translation of *pitēngēn*: interests.

*p. 9b*: Probably the first *rāja* of *rāja larangan rāja kapa-kapa* is superfluous. *Rāja larangan*, a hybrid compound, does not make sense. The expression *rāja kapa-kapa*, rendered tentatively: kings of yore, is found also in the title of the *Praniti Rāja Kapa-kapa*, one of the minor writings published in the present book.

*p. 9b*: As *parigraha* does not make sense *parigraha* is to be read instead. Probably the word refers to the household and the *zenana*.

*p. 9b*: Instead of *paṅglēsung*, which does not make sense, perhaps *paṅglēsū* should be read. *Paṅglēsū* (from *lēsū*: powerless, tired, *lēsōn*: to go to rest) is not mentioned in the dictionaries. *Palēsōn* means resting-place. It seems probable the last sentences of the paragraph on the commander-in-chief refer to his retirement from office.

*p. 9b*: Originally *tumrap* (from *trap*) seems to refer to a bird settling on a branch. The translation "to rise in rank" is founded on Par. 26-35:



*sang ārya Tilam, apatih ring Daha, mati. Gumanti sira Gajah-Mada, tinērapakēn apatih ring Daha*, meaning: the Honourable Tilam, vizir in Daha, died. The worshipful Gajah-Mada succeeded him, being raised in rank to be vizir in Daha.

p. 10a: No doubt so *rakryan* is to be read *sor rakryan*. The last words of the paragraph are not very clear. Probably Javanese readers familiar with Court titles had no difficulty in understanding them, though. The title-name *Ārya Adhikāra* belongs to a more exalted rank than *rakryan tumēnggung*.

p. 10a: *Bawahan* seems to be a better reading than *tawahan*.

p. 10a: *Tañḍa wan* is corrupt; probably *tañḍa yawa* is the correct reading.

p. 10a: *Ringgitan* refers to the women who are mentioned in the next sentence. In modern Javanese *ringgit* is used in ceremonial idiom (*krama*) i.e. in the sense of professional female dancer.

p. 10a: *Panicakuran* is not mentioned in the dictionaries. The translation "fishing-party" is founded on the preceding mention of hunting-parties. According to KBNW in modern Bali *pṛcakur* is a bamboo bench used by fishermen.

p. 10b: *Hawe suka* should be read *aweh suka*.

p. 10b: *Atisangan* does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is *apisangan*. In KBNW (s.v. *Sanggit* and *pisang*) *pisangan* is mentioned as a title-name of female courtiers or servants at Court.

p. 10b: *Dēma kalihewu* is to be read: *dēmak kalihewu*.

p. 10b: The expression *sapṛcaking hasta*, literally: anything having hands' marks on it, perhaps refers to the products of (female) craftsmanship (in the Royal compound).

p. 10b: Probably *aturan* refers to the ceremonial invitations addressed to Royalty to appear in public mentioned in p. 11a (*angaturi*).

p. 11a: In the expression *sarwakriya* the word *kriya* means: artisan. This is the usual meaning in modern Javanese.

p. 11a: In Nāg. 63—4—3 *anikṣl-nikṣl* is used also, presumably referring to the making of plaited bamboo-work.

p. 11a: The translation of *dadar-dadaran*: floormats is tentative.

p. 11a: *Sung sang prabhu: sung* is to be eliminated.

p. 11a: *Patēh-patēhan* is not mentioned in the dictionaries. The translation: harmonizing pairs of maidens is founded on the meaning of *patah* in the modern Javanese Court idiom: brides-maids, maids of honour, always appearing in pairs.

p. 11a: The *nga* in the next sentences, as a rule an abbreviation of

*ngaranya*: namely, by name, in this place no doubt is a clerical error: the Javanese number 2 must be meant. In the Royal procession pairs are very much in evidence.

*p. 11a*: *Kinaçwangi* is corrupt. Probably the ending *ngi* is to be read *nga*, representing once again the Javanese number 2. Perhaps *kinaçwa* is to be read *kinuçwa*. *Kuçwa* or *koçwa* is a Javanese corruption of Skt *koça*: treasure. *Kinuçwa* "considered as a treasure" or "richly ornamented" might be the name of a beautifully made box containing the King's valuables. At the modern Javanese and Balinese Courts boxes were in use for this end, but they had other names.

*p. 11b*: *Samaran* is to be read *samiran*. *Samir* is the name of a neck-band still in use at the modern Javanese Courts as a mark of distinction worn by Royal servants who are in active service in the King's presence.

*p. 11b*: The translation of the words *parèk lan sang ing dalèm* is uncertain. Probably by "the honoured ones who are in the Interior" the ladies of the Royal zenana are meant. Perhaps the serving-women were relatives of zenana-ladies.

*p. 11b*: The differences between *basahan* and *wēḍihan* in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom is not quite clear. If mentioned together probably the *basahan* refers to a kain (loin-cloth) worn next to the skin, its lower border visible, under the more ornamental *wēḍihan*.

*p. 11b*: Probably *hajēnar aṣṭa* should be read: *ajēnar hasta*: yellow of hands, i.e. with hands made yellow (by means of a sacred paste, modern Javanese: *boreh*).

*p. 11b*: *Hanglukuhakēn* is to be read: *anglungguhakēn*.

*p. 11b*: According to KBNW (s.v. *sēkar*) loose flowers are used in ceremonies. Probably *anglungguhakēn sēkar wa* is the name of a rite of initiation before beginning the ceremonial procession.

*p. 12a*: *Rasa-rasa*, rendered: reflection, is the sense of the loose flower rite. The words *rasarasa nga* may be corrupt, though.

*p. 12a*: The words *palinggiḥ arupit*, rendered: the seat is close, probably refer to the King's manner of sitting in the state palanquin assuming a god-like appearance. The original meaning of *rupit* is: narrow. Perhaps in some cases it has the sense of solemn, dignified.

*p. 12a*: *Pangabhaktya* is to be read *pangabhaktyan*; according to KBNW (s.v. *bhakti*) the word refers to a final ceremony marking the end of a major celebration.

*p. 12a*: *Gamanti* is to be read: *gumanti*.

*p. 12a*: Perhaps *galangan* is to be read: *galungan*.

*p. 12b*: The translation of *winauwanya*: "his revenues" is founded

on the occurrence of references to the mandarins' revenues or salaries in the preceding and following paragraphs. The original meaning of *winawa* is: carried away.

p. 12b: *Aprayoga knasikēp* probably is to be read: *amrayogakēn asikēp*.

p. 12b: *Hanor tasor* is corrupt. Perhaps the correct reading is: *anor tan kasor*, rendered: "he vanquishes and is not vanquished". *Anor* is an unusual form, the usual form being *anorakēn*. *Anor* may have been in use in a set phrase, though.

p. 12b: *Wiroring prang* is corrupt; *wira ring* seems the plausible emendation.

p. 13a: *Magawa tang* is to be read: *magawa watang*.

p. 13a: What a *jiñjring* decorated lance was like is unknown. Though the expression is mentioned in KBNW the meaning is not made clear.

p. 13a: *Daḍap* was originally a small oblong kind of shield covering the fore-arm.

p. 13a: *Patitih rahi*, to be rendered: face- or forehead-covering, perhaps was a kind of cap or head-dress.

p. 13a: The jacket with raised tips on the shoulders (*kalambi sinimping-simping*) was still worn by dancers in Eastern Java in the beginning of the 20th century. In the 14th century the wearing of jackets was exceptional.

p. 13a: *Ambulungan* appears to be a long narrow loin-cloth that is passed between the legs, called in modern Javanese *cawēt*.

p. 13a: Probably *buntal* was the name of a rather short pike as distinguished from the *watang* (modern Javanese *tumbak*), the long lance.

p. 13a: The *tameng*, rendered as a "buckler", probably was a round shield.

p. 13a: The difference in the 14th century Majapahit Court idiom between a *singēl* head-cloth and a *sungkul* head-dress is not clear.

p. 13a: *Tampak waja*: "marks of steel (instrument)", probably is the name of a pattern of woven textile used for the *sungkul* head-dress.

p. 13a: *Garuḍa marēp*: the "Griffin flying ahead", is a shape of head-dress still known in modern Java by connoisseurs of wayang puppets. *Garuḍa mungkur*: the "Griffin turning his back", is more usual, though.

p. 13a: *Camara* as a rule refers to a tuft or a wisp. The pike with *camara* probably was tasselled, though.

p. 13a: The corrupt *parēphayunira* is to be read: *parēng palayunira*.

p. 13a: The original meaning of *puḍḍetan* seems to be: twisting and turning. The word apparently is used as a technical term of manly sport, therefore the rendering: wrestling seems appropriate. In modern Javanese *gēlutan* is the usual word for wrestling.

p. 13a: The form *pinakarangga*: used as *rangga*, shows the original meaning of *rangga*: companion, partner. Probably the word is related to *laga* and *lawan*.

p. 13a: For *garwayakēn* must be read *ginawayakēn*.

p. 13b: The word *tiga* (usual meaning: three) in the ancient Court title *mantri tiga* (usually understood as meaning: the Three Mandarins) seems to be explained in this Nawawatyā paragraph as referring to the mandarins' function at Court. Probably *tiga* is taken in the sense of: clearly visible to the surrounding world. The meaning of *patiga*: parapet of a terrace or a tower, is in accordance with this fundamental sense. *Amarwa matiga*: dividing into two or three parts, also belongs to the explanation of the *mantri tiga* title. Probably the sense is: giving explanations (of the King's words or wishes).

p. 13b: *Langka* is not mentioned in KBNW. Perhaps *yya langka* is to be read *balaka*: simply, stressing the preceding words.

p. 13b: As *labda* does not make sense in this place probably *ṣabda* is to be read.

p. 13b: *Ṣāstra* is used twice in this sentence. Probably the first *ṣāstra* is a mistake for *ṣāsana*, which makes better sense in this place.

p. 13b: *Wiryānupabhāra* is to be emended: *wiryānupabhārya*. *Upabhārya* is found in the Nāg., v. glossary.

p. 13b: *Sahekanya* is to be read: *pahekanya*.

p. 13b: *Awakweh* is to be read: *atawa kweh*.

p. 13b: The high-class pronoun *sira* must refer to the Right Honourable the master of the guardsmen.

p. 13b: *Amayakna* is to be read *amahayokna* (from *payu*, *hayu*). *Amahayokakēn* rendered: to make something good, is not mentioned in KBNW. The meaning is not doubtful, though.

p. 14a: *Pinakayakenira* is derived from *ayakan*: men who are called out for active service.

p. 14b: *Batur* is not used in the Nāg. with reference to serving-men. According to KBNW in the 14th century idiom the word was used especially referring to the clergy.

p. 14b: *Wiraghatha* is an impossible name. Probably *Wiranātha* is to be read instead.

p. 17b: (selections 6, 7): *Lingsir kunang* does not make sense in this place. Probably *langsir kuning* is the right reading.

p. 18a: *Bhakta-bhaktan* is rendered: various requisites. In this word *bhakta*, as a rule in the older idiom meaning: food, seems to have the sense of: carried away, like the modern Javanese *bēkta*, *bēktan*.

p. 18a: Instead of *sahasira*, *pahesira* is to be read.

p. 18a: The translation of *anglinggani puṣpa* by: offer humble greeting is tentative. A *puṣpa* rite (probably with a flower held between the two hands in *añjali* position) is mentioned repeatedly in the Nāg.

p. 18a: The translation of *paçilan*: ceremonial sitting position, is in accordance with the modern Javanese use of the word *sila* for: sitting cross-legged in a rigid ceremonial position. The sacral immobility (*tan owah*) has been observed even in modern times at the Central Javanese Courts on similar occasions.

p. 18b: *Sahati* does not make sense. Probably *sahangguli* is the correct reading.

p. 21b (selection 8): Probably *wisayetama* is to be read: *wiṣaya tamah*.

p. 22a: The translation of *hengan*: "confusion" is tentative. Perhaps the sense is: jealousy.

p. 22a: *Sangodi* is explained tentatively in KBNW by "greeting". In modern Javanese the meaning is: pretending.

p. 22a: *Pacaraning manah* is to be read: *apacāraning manuh*.

p. 22a: On the expression *mawēding lokika* v. note on p. 3b.

p. 22a: *Rehana* probably should be read: *wehana*.

p. 22b: *Mangkanaḍu* is to be read: *mangkana saḍu*.

p. 22b: *Wani lawan* makes better sense than *wana lawan*.

p. 22b: *Parivaṣaṇēn* is not classical Javanese: the Skt word is *paravaṣa*.

p. 22b: The translation of *angēmēh* (from *kēmēh*) by: swamping is tentative. In modern Javanese *ngēmu* (from *kēmū*) has the sense: containing moisture.

p. 22b: *Hawani* does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is: *anggawani*.

p. 23a: As *donan* (from *don*) does not make sense in this place probably *adonan* is the right reading. In KBNW (s.v. *adu*) *adu-aduan* is explained as referring to the carrying off of enemies' heads, v. comm.

p. 23a: *Amaṣeṣa* is to be read *amiṣeṣa*.

*p. 23a*: *Amrañangi* is to be read: *amrañangi* (from *baranang*).

*p. 23b*: Probably *tan damakna* is to be read: *tan dēmakna* (from *dēmak*).

*p. 23b*: Perhaps instead of *mevēh ring buddhi*: *mevēh tang buddhi* is to be read.

*p. 23b*: *Kinahan* is to be read: *kinahanan* (from *hana*).

*p. 23b*: The grammatical form *den eling* is not of frequent occurrence in the 14th century Majapahit idiom.

According to Damais the scribe's date at the end of the Nawanatya probably is 4/VIII/1691 A.D. This date was in the *wuku* Kulawu, though, not in the *wuku* Dukut.

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# RĀJAPATIGUṆḌALA

*according to Ms. Or. Leyden 5056.*

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The Rājapatiguṇḍala is the second of three texts on the organization of the clergy in 14th century Java which are assembled in codex 5056, Leyden University Library. The first text is called Dewaṣāsana, the name of the concluding text is Pratastī Bhūwana. In the present author's edition of the Tantu Panggëlaran Dutch summaries of the three texts have been published. The present English translation of the Rājapatiguṇḍala is complete. The other texts have been left out because some restriction seemed advisable. The Rājapatiguṇḍala is the only one that is mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama.

Like codex 5023 that contains the Nāgara-Kērtāgama text, codex 5056 is a manuscript on palm-leaf belonging to the Lombok collection, and unique, as far as known. The script of both manuscripts is sufficiently clear, and the codices are well preserved. In the Rājapatiguṇḍala text the scribe's mistakes and omissions are much more numerous than in the poem, though.

The Rājapatiguṇḍala is in prose, and its idiom is the Court speech that is used in the Royal charters and the lawbooks. Grammatical forms resembling modern Javanese are scarce (e.g. *den kon*). Remarkable is the profuse use of the suffixed *-a* indicating a subjunctive mood. It is possible that the author (or some scribe) meant to embellish his text by means of those subjunctive forms. The superfluous long *a*'s *i*'s and *u*'s and the *ç*'s instead of common *s*'s are also to be explained as mannerisms.

The numerous mistakes and omissions make the text very difficult to understand. Therefore the translation can only be approximate. In some sentences the query-marks are legion. Probably the Rājapatiguṇḍala text, like the Nawanatya text, are copies, made at the order of some Balinese Prince, of manuscripts that had been preserved in Bali in a corrupt state for several centuries after the fall of the Majapahit dynasty. Several emendations have been made by the present editor

in order to make the meaning of the corrupt passages somewhat clearer. The principal emendations are the following.

p. 13a: *Ādityāha* is to be read: *ādityāya*.

p. 13a: *Siddya triga dewāya* probably is a corruption of *siddhatridaṣa-dewāya*.

p. 13a: *Pratwiṣṭa*, rendered: entry, is not mentioned in KBNW. It seems to be a chancery term marking the beginning of a text. The following Javanese *lêkas* is an explanation of its meaning.

p. 13a: *Ṣadḍaṣivajana* is corrupt. *Sadāṣivajñāna* seems a likely emendation. *Sadāṣivasmṛti* is mentioned in KBNW (s.v. *Ḷiwa*).

p. 13a: *Wruha* does not make sense in this place. Probably some words explaining the object of the knowledge (*wruh*) have dropped out. The sentence beginning with *wruha* was meant to be a Javanese paraphrase of the preceding Skt compound ending in *jñāna*.

p. 13a: Probably *samapreanugraha* is to be read: *samāptānugraha*.

p. 13a: *Sapolah* does not make sense in this place. A plausible emendation is *sampolih*, rendered: accorded favour, meant to be a Javanese paraphrase of the preceding Skt *anugraha*.

p. 13a: *Wakū haji* is to be read *wadwa haji*.

p. 13a: *Hanaraji* does not make sense. Perhaps *anak raja* is the correct reading.

p. 13a: *Sahalanira* is to be read: *sabalanira*.

p. 13a: Probably the correct reading of the next sentence is: *brahma-dewayajñāha sang raja maṇḍala*. The expression *brahmayañña* is used in the Nāg., v. glossary.

p. 13a: *Aṣraha* is to be read: *āṣraya*.

p. 13a: *Sang hyang malala* is a mistake for *sang hyang maṇḍala*.

p. 13b: *Tan kahirarakna* is to be read: *tan kahilangakna*.

p. 13b: *Apan yan ahiḍḍp arūpaha yowana* seems the best reading.

p. 13b: *Swahawaka* does not make sense. Probably *swabhāwa* is the original reading.

p. 13b: As *wēṣya* is out of place here *ṣeṣa* is to be read instead.

p. 13b: *Gambiṣwara* does not make sense. Perhaps *gambhīreṣwara* is meant.

p. 13b: Between *tusning* and *wnang* some words are missing. Perhaps the original reading was: *tusning wewang mangkana wnang*. The words *wewang* and *wnang* are easily confounded.

p. 13b: *Caturjanma* is to be read *caturjanma*. Probably *caturjana* is



a better reading. In the Nāg. (81—3—1) *caturjana* is used in the sense of four classes of the laity.

p. 14a: *Çewa yan tanpangaskhāra* is the correct reading.

p. 14a: Probably *hakris* is to be read: *pakris*.

p. 14a: *Tumatwaça* is to be read: *kumatwaça*.

p. 14a: *Anglētūhi çewa* refers to the ordained clergy in general. In modern Bali this use of the word *sewa* or *sīwa* is quite common.

p. 14a: *Banwaluka* does not make sense. Perhaps the original reading was something like *tansah alaku*.

p. 14b: *Adum apilih*, literally: make divisions and selections, is rendered tentatively: take what one likes. The expression seems to refer to the privileges of ecclesiastical gentlemen of high rank.

p. 14b: *Tan pidḍa* is to be read: *tan sidḍa*.

p. 14b: *Sangkhno* does not make sense. Perhaps the original reading was: *sangkara*, referring to the issue of mixed marriages.

p. 14b: *Utpatha* is to be read: *utpāta*.

p. 14b: As *raçikanya* does not make sense probably *rasakanya* (from *rasah*) is to be read. In KBNW *angrasaki* is mentioned with reference to the placing of offerings for spirits on a mat on the ground.

p. 14b: Probably *ampḥkana* is to be read *tampḥkana*.

p. 14b: *Hanwidi* does not make sense. Perhaps *yan winidi* is the original reading.

p. 15a: *Makawana* is difficult to explain. Perhaps *matēmahan* is to be read instead.

p. 15a: The mis-spelled word *dṛwing* probably is to be read *dēuwe ing*. *Dēuwe* (Skt *drawya*) is not in common use in classical Old Javanese in the sense of: to possess. In modern Javanese *duwe* is quite common.

p. 15a: *Sñjang* is related to modern Javanese *sñḍang*.

p. 15a: *Simpurung* is rendered: steeple-roofed pavilion on account of its relation with modern Javanese *cěmpurung* (not mentioned in KBNW). Quotations in KBNW (s.v. *lañcub* and *sangara*) show that a *wiku simpurung*, i.e. a *simpurung* priest, was considered as a priest of small sanctity.

p. 15a: *Gilang-gilang*, rendered: sitting stone, probably is the name of a type of small sitting-place consisting (originally) of a flat rock provided with a roof so as to make a small pavilion. The use made of flat rocks for seats is well known.

p. 15a: *Pahyasan*, rendered: dressing-place, perhaps refers to small structures erected near bathing-places on the banks of rivers to be used

by people who had bathed to rest for a while and to put their dress in order.

*p. 15a: Atirtthaning jagat* probably is to be read *patirtthaning jagat*.

*p. 15a: Mněng kang pramananing rat* does not make sense. Probably the correct reading is *wěnang kapramanan ing rat*.

*p. 15a: As anadahakinkin* does not make sense probably *anaḍahakinkin* is the original reading.

*p. 15a: Jumput* is rendered: "especially reserved" on account of the meaning of the verb *jumput*. The implications of the word used as a chancery term are as yet unknown.

*p. 15a: Kuluwut* is rendered tentatively: enfolded, enclosed. Perhaps the word is related to modern Javanese *klobot* and *kubut*. A remote relationship with *kuwu*, rendered: manor, is not improbable. What *kuluwut* meant in the 14th century chancery idiom is unknown.

*p. 15a: Kanglang* is to be read: *kalang*, and *kalanggyan*: *kalagyan*.

*p. 15a: Kaputrawanggan*, rendered: land of descendants and relatives, seems to refer to land set aside for the support of relatives of the original owner of a domain. The explanation of *kaputrāṅga* in KBNW (s.v. *putrāṅga*) implies this.

*p. 15a: As dalun* is not mentioned in the dictionaries perhaps *talun*, rendered: newly opened land, is to be substituted for it.

*p. 15a: Probably patara tanya* is to be read: *nataranya*.

*p. 15b: Po sira sang mangawara* perhaps is to be emended: *puwa sira sang yogiṣwara*.

*p. 15b: Yaṣakacarintika* is corrupt. A likely emendation is: *yata kacarika*. In KBNW (s.v. *sanga*) the expression *mati kacarik* is mentioned with reference to a curse called down upon a person. Probably this word *carik* is related to *sarik*: curse.

*p. 15b: Evidently the sentences are in disorder. The sentence beginning with tan kawaraha dening sarat* is repeated needlessly. Before *karṣyaṇ* the words *sang rēsi amuktiha* have been dropped.

*p. 15b: As noreng tapakan* does not make sense perhaps *norang* is to be read instead.

*p. 15b: Tan darmmangaran* probably is to be read *tan ḍarmma ngaranya*.

*p. 15b: Hananing saruwajanma* perhaps is to be emended: *kahananing*.

*p. 16a: Lawanagara* is to be read: *lawan nagara*.

*p. 16a: Uwahana* probably is a mistake for *upahana*.

p. 16a: Probably *yan kakongkon* is the original reading. *Di(ng)gu* is related to modern Jav. *jenggo*: remain silent.

p. 16a: *Patyanira pa* is to be read *patyanira pwa*.

p. 16a: The sentence beginning with *kērmī sampeka* is defective. The sense is lost.

p. 16a: *Kunang ka* is to be read *kunang ta*.

p. 16a: *Taku* probably is to be read: *teku*.

p. 16a: *Angilangakēn* is to be read: *angilingakēn* (cf. *eling*).

p. 16a: *Kērtthapara* probably is to be read: *kērtawara*.

p. 16a: *Haga manik* is rendered Jewel Mountain. It seems to be an epithet of Java.

p. 16a: Probably the twice repeated *tapanira* is to be read *patapanira*. The sentence is in disorder. The list of denominations contains both *sogatas* and *boddhas*, which is unusual. No difference in use between the two terms has been ascertained as yet.

p. 16a: The frequent use of *sang* before names in this part of the Rājapatigunḍala is not in accordance with the rule of the Majapahit Court idiom where *sang* is an honorific predicate (rendered: honoured) belonging to courtiers. Probably this misuse of *sang* is to be ascribed partly to the rather negligent style of the notes that are the substance of the Rājapatigunḍala, partly to mistakes of later editor-scribes. In the translation the rendering of *sang* ("honoured") has been given up in all those cases where it seemed to have become meaningless in the Javanese text.

p. 16a: *Sandura* is corrupt. *Satinandura* perhaps is the original reading.

p. 16a: *Sahagangan* is difficult to explain. Perhaps *sagagang* is the original reading.

p. 16a: Probably *paduluran* is to be read *saduluran*.

p. 16b: *Mangusiṭṭhan* does not make sense. *Pangupajitwan* seems a plausible reading.

p. 16b: The translation of *dērwe yaca*: personal property, is founded on the meaning of the modern Javanese word *yasan*: land owned by farmers in their own right, as opposite to communal lands.

p. 16b: *Wiṣyamērttha* is to be read *wiṣamērtta*: venom-death. Probably the expression refers to the risk incurred by people who did not respect sacerdotal property.

p. 16b: *Ujar kela* is difficult to explain. Perhaps *kela* is related to *bela*, referring to outsiders joining in a ceremony and participating in its cost for economy's sake.

p. 16b: *Siniwi* before *wiku* probably is a mistake. It should be left out.

p. 16b: As *ngēlud* does not make good sense in this place probably *ngēlad* is to be read instead.

p. 16b: *Sagata* probably is to be read *sanggata*.

p. 16b: *Yan sampun* does not make sense. Probably *pan sampun* is the original reading.

p. 16b: *Kṛttasaya* stands for *kērtasamaya*.

p. 16b: *Dupan* does not make sense. Perhaps *dwan*, i.e. *don* is the original reading.

p. 16b: *Ring ngadana* does not make sense. *Ring anādi* seems a plausible emendation.

p. 17a: *Sarupahan* is corrupt. Probably some words referring to disregard of the precepts have been dropped.

p. 17a: *Pēpēcat* is to be read *pēpēcut*.

p. 17a: *Hutaha* is to be read *wutaha*.

p. 17b: *Tumaha* is to be read: *tumamaha*.

p. 17b: *Ḫri Bha(ga)ti* is to be read: *Ḫri Bhatati*, *sang ratu*.

p. 17b: *Paṇḍata* is to be read *paṇḍita*.

p. 17b: The Skt invocations are corrupt. Perhaps *ṣorabhyoḥ* is to be read *surebhyah*: to the gods, and *ajiteḍarmma*: *ajitadharmāya*: to Invincible Dharma. *Garddhipatayaya* perhaps might be read *sarwawādhipatyaye*: to Overlord Sarwa.

p. 17b: *Phalaḍēṇḍa* perhaps is a mistake for *palu ḍēṇḍa*.

p. 17b: Perhaps *labdhawarṇa* is a better reading than *labdawara*.

p. 17b: *Cintāmaṇi* is the usual spelling of the name.

p. 17b: The last corrupt Skt invocation *sadyastutenamahaswaha* perhaps is to be emended: *sadāstuti te namaḥ swāhā*.

p. 18a: *Rājanagara* probably is to be read *rājya nagara*.

## PURWĀDIGAMA

### Preamble.

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The Purwādigama is one of the Old Javanese Balinese law-books. These books contain juridical definitions, they give some rules of conduct and sometimes they explain law-cases. Mostly the contents is incoherent. Probably many chapters of law-books found in Balinese manuscripts of recent date have their origin in the Majapahit era or before.

The preamble of the Purwādigama according to Dr H. N. van der Tuuk's *Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (sub voce *ḍarm-madyaksa*) has been included in the present book because it contains an interesting list of title-names of law-officers. In the Preface of Brandes' *Register op de proza-omzetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi* (i.e. an index to the names found in the great Javanese History) of 1900 the Purwādigama preamble is found included also.

The expression *bhujangga Śiwan pinakasthawira ring nagara* proves that the Purwādigama belongs to the Shiwaite literature of Bali.

*Sthawira* is an unusual word; in this place *pinakasthawira* is a ceremonial expression.

The long title *Adhigamaśāstrasaroddhṛta* probably means: the Essence taken from the book Adhigama. The Sanskrit word *adhigama* could be rendered in this context as "findings". This explanation of the name is in accordance with the fact that the Pūrwardhigama and the other known law-books are not more than manuals or notebooks compiled by authors of different ages.

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## PRANITI RAJA KAPA-KAPA

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The text of the *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* mentioned in the Nāg., canto 85, is unknown to the present author. Probably it was a text in Old Javanese prose resembling the Nawanatya, and dating from the same time, the 14th century. In the 18th century several Old Javanese texts that seemed of interest were rewritten in modern Javanese by scholars who were attached to the Court of Central Java. The prose was changed into poetry using the modern Javanese metres that were in vogue at the time. Two modern Javanese versions of the *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* are known, one in the metre *Ḍaṇḍang-gula* the other in *Asmaradana*. Both have been published, but not translated, by Brandes as appendix III to his *Register op de proza-omsetting van de Babad Tanah Jawi*, i.e. an index of names in the prose version of the Javanese History (*Verh. Bat. Gen.* 51, 1900). Brandes found both versions in a manuscript belonging to the Netherlands Bible Society, no 80 I.

The modern Javanese version in the *Ḍaṇḍang-gula* metre is the more reliable of the two. The other one is defective. As a substitute of the Old Javanese *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* which is not available, this modern Javanese *Ḍaṇḍang-gula* version is included in the present Nāg. edition. Brandes' text has been emended in some places by readings taken from ms. or. Leyden 1850. This codex does not contain the *Asmaradana* version. The spelling of Javanese in the transcription of this modern text is the Sanskrit-Old Javanese spelling used in transcriptions throughout the present book. The regular Romanized spelling of modern Javanese is based for the greater part on the Dutch spelling. Using two different orthographies might lead to confusion.

Both in the beginning and at the end of the modern Javanese versions *Praniti Rāja Kapa-kapa* is given as the name of the text. *Kapa-kapa* is otherwise unknown either as a noun or as a name. Perhaps the most plausible hypothesis is that *kapa-kapa* means: once upon a time, of old. It might be related to *kapan* (when, interrogative) and to *kapan-kapan* (at some time). The meaning of the name *Praniti Rāja Kapa-kapa*

would be: Management of the Kings of Old, and the Old Javanese name *Ajar ing Rāja Kapa-kapa* would mean: Teaching of the Kings of Old. The Nawanatya has: *pitēñen sang prabhu, raja larasian, raja kapa-kapa*. As this does not make sense it is proposed to leave out the first *raja* which probably came in by dittography. The meaning is: the Prabhu's interests, the prerogatives of the Kings of Old. The last words might contain an explanation of the preceding expression, which is an unusual one.

In the *Rājapatigunḍala* the Illustrious Bhatati (probably the same person as the 13th century Singasari King Kērtā-Nagara) is referred to repeatedly as *sang ratu ring alawas*: the honoured *Ratu* of Yore. This is not a sufficiently strong foundation for the identification of the *Raja Kapa-kapa* with the well-known King of Singasari. The interpretation of *kapa-kapa* as meaning: of old, is made the more plausible, though, by the finding of the expression *ring alawas* (to be rendered: of yore) in a similar context. The ascription of texts on social order like the *Rājapatigunḍala* and the *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* to ancient Kings is a common proceeding. The question whether *Raja Kapa-kapa* originally referred to one particular King (be it Kērtā-Nagara of Singasari or another) or to the Kings of Old in general is left unanswered.

Javanese scholars of the 18th and 19th centuries explained *Raja Kapa-kapa* as the name of an otherwise unknown *adhipati*, the author of the book. This is but an explanation ad hoc. *Kēkapa*, a Javanese wooden saddle, does not carry us any further.

In the following notes *Praniti* will be used exclusively for the *Daṇḍang-gula* version.

The *Praniti's* author, who lived probably in the 18th century, seems to have had a copy of the original *Ajar* which was still well legible. His version probably gives a good idea of the contents of the original. Writing poetry, he was compelled to form short sentences in accordance with the metre, and this makes the text difficult to understand. It should be noted that the *Praniti* does not contain one word of Arabic origin, except *tammāt* (end) in the last stanza. This makes it probable that the author followed his Old Javanese model, which, of course, was free from Arabic influence, as closely as possible, often using the same words.

It is remarkable that the *Praniti's* author did not mention the fact that he was rewriting an Old Javanese original. The author of the *Asmaradana* version called attention to his own work in a last stanza: *Duk wahunne sakin kawī, manke tinambanhan jarwa, sinawon-sawon*

*gēṇḍaṇe, macapat nuju hasmara, riṅ reh sarju myom siwah, sakiṅ mula tar pinugut, makirtya mulad kewala.* Translation: In olden times, from the *kawi* idiom, now turned into modern Javanese, and composed in a *macapat* metre, alluding to Love, in order that it might be pleasant and also clear. From the original nothing has been cut off. I made it a point of honour only to follow my model. (The "allusion to Love" is an allusion to the name of the metre, *Asmaradana*, which means: Gift of Love).

The *Asmaradana* version contains some other information that is not found in the *Praniti*, but has its origin in a faulty understanding of the original. The *Praniti*, on the other hand, contains in stanza 9 several words (*adipati kuuu, anden bubuyut pangalasan*) which are skipped in the *Asmaradana* version. These words are of some interest for the Nāg. commentary.

In Brandes' *Register* the two versions of the *Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa* are followed by a text in modern Javanese prose called *Wadu Aji*: the Lord's Serving-men. The *Wadu Aji* seems to be the work of a Javanese scholar of the 19th century. It is a kind of commentary on the two versions of the *Praniti*, with some additions of small value. It is of no interest for the present book.

The *Praniti* in *Daṇḍang-gula* metre has 10 stanzas, the *Asmaradana* version has 18, but these are shorter ones. The text is to be divided into four parts: an introduction of 2 stanzas dealing with the meaning of the word *mantri*, a discussion of the *mantris mancanagara* (2 stanzas), a similar discussion of the *mantris bujangga* (2 stanzas), a superficial discussion of Royal officers of lower rank (3 stanzas) and a concluding stanza. Stanzas 1—4 and Nawanatya p. 9a—14b, i.e. the beginning of the *Nagarakrama* chapter, have much in common. In the commentary the points of interest will be discussed.

The following notes refer to emendations of Brandes' edition.

In stanza 4 Brandes has: *anampurnakēn nēnggih parentahing papatya*, cod. 1850 has: *anampunakēn*. Both readings are possible and the meaning remains the same. It seems more in accordance with the *kanuruhan*'s functions as described at some length in the *Nawanatya*, though, to read *anampakakēn parentah*: to deliver orders. The reading *kanḍurukan* instead of *kanurukan* is the common one in modern Javanese.

In stanza 5 the metre requires the reading: *amanguri bubuhane*. The following words do not make sense. The best emendation is: *angēmpuni mantri bujangga samya*: acting as *ēmpu* (master) of the *mantris bujangga* altogether, though *angēmpuni* is an unusual form. The author



of the *Wadu Aji* has: *anglurahi para wadya jĕksa*: being the Chief of the King's servants the *jĕksa's*, which probably goes back to this place of the *Praniti*.

In the first verse of *stanza 6 papati* should be read instead of *manguri*, for the following explanation *wani mati* can only refer to *papati*. The last verses of this stanza are far from clear. It is proposed to read: *Laha nĕngguh, luwirnya ulah amet ulam, lawan malih punika wangĕning mantri, bujanggarya langarnya*. This makes the group of eight *mantris bujangga* that is mentioned in the *Purwadigama* complete. Their functions will be discussed in the commentary.

The *stanzas 7—9* contain some names of offices that are otherwise unknown: *pasĕpan*, *palimpingan*, *pakulutan* (Brandes has: *pakulupan*), *surantani*. The *Wadu Aji's* explanations are too obviously made ad hoc to be reliable. In *stanza 7 Arya Pamotan* is mentioned as an inferior of the *mantris bujangga*. In the *Praniti* his place in that group is taken by the *Papati*, unknown to the *Purwadigama's* author.

The words *asor saking puniki* in *stanza 7* and *malih ingisoripun* in *stanza 9* which refer to inferiority in rank lead to the conclusion that all the *mantris* from the *patih* in *stanza 3* to the *bubuyut pangalasan* in *stanza 9* are placed in order of rank from high to low. This is a help for forming an appreciation of the Court offices. Probably the last words of *stanza 8 pura angraramunya* are corrupt. *Kang raramutnya* perhaps is a plausible emendation. *Angramuti* is a word belonging to an old Eastern Javanese idiom. It means: to take care of; it is related to *emut*: to mind, to remind.

The second verse of *stanza 9* should be read: *kalih bĕlah ewu pañca tanĕa*. The expression *pañca tanĕa* is found in the *Nāg.* canto 88—1—3.

The last words of *stanza 9* do not make sense. They should be read: *pinakantyaning katha*, meaning that the *bubuyut pangalasan* is the end of the list.

Brandes' text has in the beginning of *stanza 10*: *para lurah*. The reading of cod. 1850 makes better sense. The words refer to the custom of taking turns in the execution of office. It is also mentioned in the *Nāg.*, canto 8—6—4.

Probably in the last verse *muwah* is to be read *mauwah*.

*CHARTERS*

*NOTES*



III. BRIDAL PROCESSION OF A PRINCESS, SEE P. VIII.

## SARWADHARMA CHARTER

1296 A.D.

According to Brandes' communication in the *Notulen van de Directie-vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, vol. 36, 1898, the seven plates of the Sarwadharma charter were found in that year on the Pēnampihan estate in the Willis massif, district of Tulung-Agung, Kaḍiri. The text as edited in the present book is copied from Brandes' transcription which has been published by Krom in 1913 (*Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden*, II, p. 188) without translation or commentary. Brandes seems to have transcribed the text from photographs. Some mistakes may be ascribed to that fact. The letters and words that are printed in italics were marked by Brandes as not quite clear. On the whole the text is in a good state.

In several places short vowels are written instead of long ones (*mantri-mantri*) and mistakes are made in Javanese and Sanskrit words. The doctor's name *ḍang ācārya Ćiwanātha* is given to two different persons in successive lines (plate 2 recto, line 6 and 7). In one place (plate 3 verso, line 4) the words *ring wiṣaya punpunan sang hyang saruwadharmma* are reiterated by mistake. Remarkable is the use in some places of the unusual form *byēt* instead of the usual *bwat*. Perhaps these facts are sufficient to warrant the supposition that the seven plates found in 1898 are not originals but copies of the standard text as drawn up by the Royal chancery. Probably the bronze copies were made by order of the abbatial family of a domain benefitting by the Royal charter with the intention that they would be kept by later abbots as heirlooms and title-deeds. Unfortunately Pēnampihan in the Willis hills has not been identified with any domain of the clergy mentioned in the Nāgara-Kērtāgama.

In the following notes on the text as edited in vol. I of the present book only emendations of some importance for the right understanding of the sense of the words are proposed. The minor mistakes in the spelling are neglected.

- Plate 1 verso, 5: *tārpita* seems a better reading than *nārpita*.
- Plate 2 recto, 5: *pamgēt ing jamba*. Both *Jamba* and *Jambi* are found in the texts, v. glossary.
- Plate 3 recto, 3: *pamājāngkēn tahun*.  
 recto, 6: *sakaladharmma*.  
 verso, 2: *enak ta kaniṣṣayan ika*.  
 verso, 4: Either *ring wiṣaya punṣunan sang hyang sarwadharmma* is reiterated by mistake, or the words have taken the place of a short sentence mentioning the reverential address (*hatur*) to the King.
- Plate 4 recto, 2: *dewawangṣa*.  
 recto, 3: *inēnahakēn*.  
 verso, 4: *papinḍah ponti*.  
 verso, 5: *tumutātukwa sapanut sahanani*.  
 verso, 6: *tan pḡat kawijilaknanya*.
- Plate 5 recto, 5: *aṇungguta* (?).  
 verso, 7: *pjah anirara*.
- Plate 6 recto, 1: *kēmbang kuning ri harēpan*.  
 recto, 7: *ri sanmuka para taṇḍa*.  
 verso, 1: *suwarna*.  
 verso, 7: *kawulikan*.
- Plate 7 recto, 2: *sandhya* and *jānāti*.  
 recto, 4: *dr̥ṣṭwā*.  
 recto, 5: *andho*.  
 recto, 6: *kudhā*.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 72) the date of the Sarwadharma charter is 31/X/1269 A.D.

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# DECREE JAYA SONG

about 1350 A.D.

Incomplete.

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The five copperplates were found in Bëndosari (district of Trěng-galek, residency of Kaḍiri) in 1896. The first plate is lost, therefore the date is not known. Krom's suggestion (T.B.G. 53, p. 417) that the plates were issued between 1350 and 1365 seems very probable. Brandes' transcription has been published as no LXXXV in *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* II, 1913. The plates are in a good condition. The mistakes of the scribe are not numerous and easy to correct.

As to the idiom it is sufficient to refer to the notes on the Ferry Charter of 1358 also edited in the present book. The antiquated spelling *nuang* instead of *nuwang* is an affectation of the Court scribe.

The text of the Decree is remarkable for the insertion of two speeches. The first person is referred to as *ingsun*, which is a noun (*tuhatuha ni ingsun*). Its original meaning is unknown. In modern Javanese *ingsun* is a pronoun. No doubt the litigants used very humble terms while referring to themselves in their speeches addressed to their judges. In modern Javanese, on the other hand, *ingsun* is only used by Royalty. In some Eastern Javanese dialects the pronoun is still in common use, though.

Another remarkable point is the frequent use of *pun* (*aranipun*, *pun samasanak*, etc.) just as in the modern Javanese idiom.

The only numeral that is written in full is *sawidak pitu(ng)*, sixty-seven. It is probably a mistake for *sawidak*, which is the usual form.

The interpretation of the lengthy Sanskrit epithets given to members of the Royal Family and prominent Royal servants is sometimes difficult. In the frame of the present book the making of comparisons with similar lists of epithets found in other charters seems unnecessary, however interesting it might prove to be from a historical point of view.

The following slight emendations in the Javanese text as edited in the *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* are suggested.

In *plate 5 recto*, line 5, instead of *tan punika*, which is an unidiomatic sequence of words, *pan punika* should be read.

In *plate 6 recto*, line 3, *awidhita* is a mistake for *awidita*.

In *plate 6 verso*, line 2, instead of *pinunga*, which does not make sense, *sinunga* should be read.

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## FERRY CHARTER

1358 A.D.

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Of this Royal charter of originally eleven copperplates four plates have been published by van Stein Callenfels as *Oorkonden van Travulan I* in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1918, and one plate, found in 1902 in Pěēm, residency of Surabaya, and transcribed by Brandes, has found a place as no CXIX in Krom's *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* II, 1913. The plates are in good condition and the writing is clear.

The Ferry Charter is the longest of King Hayam Wuruk's charters that have been found. Its style and idiom mark it as a product of Court officials, and on these points the difference with the charters of Rěnėk, Biluluk, Shela Maṇḍi etc. is clearly visible. Nevertheless the Ferry Charter contains some grammatical constructions that are related to modern Javanese. The infix *-in-* is considerably less used than the prefix *ka-* in the passive form of the verb. The suffixed pronoun *-nya* is often used in the modern Javanese manner, e.g.: *denya ng anambangi*. Pure Old Javanese would be: *dening* or *denikang*, good modern Javanese: *dening kang* or *dening ingkang*. Probably in the 14th century *-nya* was pronounced *-ne*, as it is written in the Biluluk etc. charters that do not affect the official Court style. *Iriya* in *anambut iriya* seems antiquated in a 14th century text. The Nāg. has *riya* in a similar construction in one place only: *anut riya*.

The official style of the Ferry Charter is accentuated by the use of many learned Sanskrit compound words as *epitheta ornantia* going with titles of high officials. Parts of these epithets are found in the Nāg., v. gloss. This is another proof of the close connection between the Nāg. and the Court. In some cases the Sanskrit compounds in the charter are followed by Javanese explanations, and some single Sanskrit words are given Javanese translations, e.g.: *sarwwe, ika ta kabeh*. Probably the learned scholars of the Royal Court could not expect a ready understanding of their Sanskrit from inferior clerical officers.

In the translation in volume III of the present book the Sanskrit



epithets are put between quotation marks to distinguish them from the subsequent Javanese explanations.

The Ferry Charter contains some Javanese words and expressions that are unknown from elsewhere, and several others that have been found in other charters as well, but still are difficult to explain. They shall be discussed in the commentary on the charter in volume IV.

Only a few slight emendations in the Javanese text as edited by van Stein Callenfels and Brandes are suggested. The present author did not collate the published text with the original plates. The probability of finding better readings by means of a collation does not seem great.

In *plate 1 verso, line 1*, *samērdhī* is probably to be read: *samwērdhī*.

In *plate 9 recto, line 3*, perhaps *pārwaṇapara* is a defective spelling of *pārwaṇapara*: east-west.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76) the exact date of King Hayam Wuruk's Ferry Charter (by him called Cangu Charter) is 7/VII/1358 A.D.

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## CHARTER OF BATUR

*Fragmentary.*

The charter consists of three copperplates, all fragmentary, found in 1915 near Batur, Kraksaan, province of East-Java. They are mentioned in the *Notulen K.B.G.* (Minutes of the meetings of the R. Batavian Society), 1915, p. 105, edited by Bosch in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1915, and further discussed by Krom in his *Epigraphische Aanteekeningen*, T.B.G. 58, 1919, p. 161. In this paper Krom completed the names of some officials by comparing the charter's list with the charters of Nglawang and Bëndosari. The complete names are used in the present edition.

The three fragments are registered as E 50. In addition to them one complete copperplate has been found. Its script is of a later period and the text is written in two distinct hands. It is illegible except for a few words. The name of the place Saḍeng which is also found in the Nāg. is mentioned in it. It is registered as E 51.

The translation of the large fragment of E 50 does not offer many difficulties as it contains the usual preamble with titles and names. At the end of *line 2 recto rangga* should be supplemented to make the number of five *mantris amañcanagara* complete.

The middlesized fragment contains the interesting part of the charter.

At the end of *line 1 recto maṇḍale haṇḍawa i talun* should be supplemented in accordance with *line 4 recto*.

*Ring puhun malama* in *line 2 recto* is an expression used especially in charters. *Labuṇanaya* probably should be read *lābhōṇanaya*.

At the end of *line 3 recto māsa* should be supplemented in accordance with the *caitramāsa* of *line 1 verso*.

The *sa* at the end of *line 4 recto* probably is the beginning of the name *Sāgara*.

*Line 5 recto* might be read *kaṇṭwūnuruna kalasa pataraṇa*.

The end of *line 1 verso* should be supplemented: *pañcadaṣi*.

The end of *line 4 verso* is to be completed with *pāḍuka ṣṛi mahārāja*.

*Line 6 verso* should be read *sang siḍḍa guru sanguni*.

The contents of the small fragment is too slight to give information of much value. *Çuklapak* should be read *çuklapakṣa*.

*Kaliḥan* probably is to be identified with *Kalyasām*.

## CHARTERS OF BILULUK

1366, 1391, 1395 A.D.

In *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (Report of the Archeological Service) of 1917 van Stein Callenfels published a note on some copperplates found in the district of Lamongan, near the village of Bluluk, and in the Report of 1918 he published transcriptions of three plates. They were probably issued by the same Prince of Wēngkēr who was the author of the Rēnēk plate, and consequently the idioms of the four plates are very much alike.

*Notes on the plate of 1366.*

*Amomoŋot*, which is not found in the dictionaries, has been translated: grabbing ears of rice from the fields (in passing), on account of the modern Javanese *mbēŋot*, which means: to tear off.

*Siwihos* is an "interchangeable form". The use of this kind of embellishment increased in the Majapahit era; it was known long before that time though, e.g. *kantēn* instead of *kali* (river) in the well-known stone charter of Kēlagen, issued by King Erlangga in 1037. The common form of *siwihos* must have been *siwiji* or *sutwiji*. These words are not found in the known texts, but they are certainly related to the modern Javanese *səje*, which means: other.

The maledictions at the end of several Old Javanese charters have been translated long ago by Professor Kern. According to him, *trayoda-ḡasakṣi*, the thirteen witnesses, should be read: *tridaḡa*, the thirty, because only the thirty gods could be meant. Professor Krom, in his paper on the charter of Nglawang, issued by King Hayam Wuruk before 1365 (T.B.G. vol. 53, 1911, p. 414) pointed out that undoubtedly thirteen is the right reading, as lists of thirteen witnesses are found both in Sanskrit and in Old Javanese texts.

Instead of *tunḡuh*, *tunḡun* (back) should be read.

*Notes on the plate of 1391.*

*Pamihos* is another instance of the use of "interchangeable forms" in these texts; probably it stands for *pamihi*, which may have been a capitation tax collected at the time of the annual religious festival (*puja*). It is remarkable that the first plate has *pamuja* and the second one *pamihos*.

*Notes on the plate of 1395.*

*Anampak* (from *sampak* or *tampak*) is not found in any known Old Javanese text. The repetition excludes the possibility that it is a mistake. Meanwhile the meaning is clear: it only can mean: to get or: to take. The word is related to *ngampak-ampak*: to beg, found in some charters (v. glossary), to modern Javanese *tampa*: to receive, to accept and to the modern dialectical expression: *kēsampak*, meaning: fortunately found, at last.

The meanings of the numerous words belonging to the idiom of customary law that are found in this charter will be discussed in the commentary in volume IV of the present book.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76—78) the three dates mentioned in the Biluluk charters are: the first between 12/III/1366 and 28/II/1367, the second between 1/VII and 13/VIII 1391, and the third between 20/II and 21/III 1395 A.D.

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## CHARTER OF RĚNĚK

1379 A.D.

The charter of RĚnĚk has been the subject of a paper published by Dr Stutterheim and the present author in the Dutch periodical '*Djawa*' under the title: *Een Javaansche oorkonde uit den bloeitijd van Madjapahit* (vol. 6, 1926). Dr Stutterheim furnished the transcription and contributed some notes on the history and the epigraphy of the text. The present author offered a translation, a commentary on the contents and some philological notes.

Stutterheim's transcription is re-published in the first volume of the present book. The author took the liberty, however, to modernize the spelling so as to be in harmony with the spelling of the other transcriptions in that volume. The following introductory and historical remarks are excerpts from Dr Stutterheim's notes. Dr Stutterheim died in the beginning of the Japanese war, in 1943, in Batavia (Djakarta). The author feels confident of his old friend and colleague's approval of his making use of the above-mentioned transcription and notes for the present book. The epigraphical remarks are left out as being of minor interest for the majority of the readers.

The charter of RĚnĚk is engraved on two bronze plates, bearing the Javanese numbers 1 and 2,  $9 \times 33,5$  cm ( $3\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$  inch) and extraordinarily thick: 4 mm ( $\frac{1}{8}$  inch). They have five lines on each side, except the side containing the beginning, which has only four lines. The plates were sold to Mr F. B. Klaverweiden, M. D., of Surabaya, probably about the year 1920, by a Javanese pedlar who told him that they had been found buried in the earth in a field near the site of Majapahit. Afterwards H.H. the *Pangeran Adipati Arya Mangkunagara VII*, one of the minor semi-independent Princes in the period of Dutch sovereignty, acquired the plates for the collection in his palace at Surakarta.

It is beyond doubt that the *Bhaṭāra ring Wēngkēr* who is mentioned in the first line of the charter is the same person as King Hayam

Wuruk's uncle the Prince of Wēngkēr whose activities in the field of agricultural jurisdiction are known from other charters (Kaṇḍangan) as well as from the Nāgara-Kērtāgama (canto 88). According to the Pararaton he died in 1310 Shāka (1388 A.D.). The year of the charter of Rēnēk (plate 2b, line 4: *śīraḥ 1*) must be 1301 Shāka, the first year of the new century. This is well within the Prince's lifetime.

The Ferry Charter mentions a Tambak, which was the place of a ferry. It is possible that the Tambaks of the charter of Rēnēk and the Ferry Charter are identical. The word means 'dam' and so it should be a common name in an irrigated country such as the Brantas Delta.

These excerpts from Stutterheim's part of the Dutch paper on the charter of Rēnēk make its history sufficiently clear. The following notes on the text and the translation, the translation itself and the commentary on the contents in the next volumes of this book are taken from the author's part of the same paper. The Dutch translation of 1926 needed emending in some respects. The present translation into English is harmonized with the other translations in this book.

*Notes on plate I, recto.*

*Wontēn*, instead of *wwantēn*, is one of the many instances of modern Javanese spelling in this charter. The Nāg. has hardly any spellings of this kind. No doubt the discrepancy between poetry and prose, and between Court style and rustic idiom, must be taken into account. Spellings and idioms of charters such as this one are proofs that in the 14th century the Javanese language in Eastern Java had more modern forms than one would gather from the reading of poetry and Court literature. *Punika* and *kang* are such forms. Suffixed *-ira* and *-nira* are used in the same way as *-e* and *-ne*, *-ipun* and *-nipun* in modern Javanese. The reservation of these suffixes for persons of the highest rank as practised in the Nāg. is discarded in the charter. *Sīra* is frequently used as a honorific predicate before names, even of people of low rank (*lěmbak*). Its use reminds one of the modern Javanese *sī* or *pun*.

*Nalampakanira*, meaning 'His Foot-soles', an honorific predicate equivalent with the modern Javanese *kang-jěng*, meaning 'The Feet', has passed into modern Javanese Court style as *pakēnira*, a pronoun of the 2nd person. The most remarkable about the word is the initial nasal, whereas the usual form is *talampakan*. A comparable case is the modern

Javanese *punika*, nearly always pronounced *mēnika*. The translation 'His Grace' is chosen because of the connection with the Court.

*Samasanak*, family, is often used in charters, v. glossary.

*Kaladan* is a derivation from *lad*. *Wēlad* is a knife made of bamboo, an ancient implement; therefore probably the original meaning of *kaladan* is: cut, clipped. The charter of Shela Maṇḍi (edited in the present book) has: *tan alonga tan awuwuha, tan pongladana bhumine brayane, tan kaladana*: that it not shall diminish and not increase, that it not shall retrench the land of his neighbours and not been retrenched.

*Jōng* is in modern Javanese: *jung*, it is 28.386 m<sup>2</sup> or 7 acres in Central Java. But then about the Majapahit *jung* nothing is known, of course.

*Kilēsujakuring* probably is a corrupt chancery term connected with surveying. *Salēbak-wukirnya*, with its low lands and hills, of Nāg. 35—3—1 would give good sense in this place.

In the first line *angulihakēn* is used, and in the third *mantuk*. In modern Javanese *mulih* and *mantuk* are 'interchangeable words', both meaning: to go home, but *mulih* is used in the *ngoko* (common) idiom and *mantuk* in the *krama* (ceremonial) idiom. The charter does not yet make a very strict difference between *ngoko* and *krama*, neither does the Nāg.

*Maring* is a modern form for *mareng*, from *mara ing*, originally meaning: 'going to' or 'going for'. The remarkable use of the word as an indication of the object of an action (*asraha... maring sawah*) is well-known in modern Javanese.

*Gēnti ri handon* does not make sense. It is proposed to read: *gēnti ring anden*: they represented the *andens*, the gentry. The *andens* (Nāg.: *handyan*, v. gl.) are opposed to the *atuka*, the elders of the commoners.

#### *Notes on plate I, verso.*

*Punang* is used in relation to a person, *kang* is used in general, v. glossary.

The spelling *punika tta* and *puniku tta*, with double *tt*, does not make sense. Probably it is only done to look important. The use of *puniku* in II recto 5 is correct, as referring to the persons that are just mentioned. In I verso 1 *punika* has the same sense. In modern Javanese *punika* is more frequently used than *puniku* or *puniki*. The *buyut* of

Talaga's name probably was *Tumpĕk*, 'Saturday', not *Umpĕk*. In this case a double *tt* would not have been out of place.

The spellings *hing Rĕnĕk*, *hañjĕnĕngi*, *hangalihi*, *hamalĕrakĕn*, with *h*'s instead of vowel *akṣaras*, are modern Javanese. Evidently in the charter's idiom in the 14th century the *h* was mute at the beginning of a word. The contraction of *warga haji* to *wargaji*, *weragaji* is a consequence of the same fact.

*Notes on plate II, recto.*

The occurrence of the spellings *wuwang* and *wong* in the same line (line 5) is remarkable.

Whereas many verbal forms of modern Javanese are used in the charter's simple phraseology, the form with the infix *-in-*, very common in the Nāg., is absent. On the other hand several verbal forms with prefixed *ka-* are found (v. gl.). Evidently in the 14th century idiom of the charter the infix *-in-* was already nearly extinct just as it is in modern Javanese.

*Notes on plate II, verso.*

*Hamalĕrakĕn* (*malĕrakĕn* in the same line) is a derivation from *walĕr*, so the original meaning is: to fix a boundary, v. glossary.

*Yen* is the modern form for *yan*.

*Para* in *parawangsa* and *parajinura* seems to be merely an indication of a plurality, just as it is in modern Javanese. The sense of 'common, commoner', obvious in several places in the Nāg., can not be attributed to *para* in this case, because the *parajinuru* and the *parawangsa* form the party opposite to the *wong lĕmbah*, the low-born.

*Samadaya*, from Skt *saṃudaya*, assembly, just means 'altogether' in this place, like its derivation *sĕdaya*, which is a ceremonial word for 'all' in modern Javanese.

According to Mr Damais, the author of the *Études d'Épigraphie indonésienne* published in B.E.F.E.O. 1951—1958, the date at the end of the Rĕnĕk charter probably is 9/IV/1379 A.D., but then the abbreviation of the day of the week should be read *ṣa* (i.e. *ṣaneṣcara*: Saturday) instead of *ba*.



## CHARTER OF WALANĎIT

1381—1405 A.D.

The charter of WalanĎit has been edited and translated already in 1899 by Brandes (*Notulen Directievergaderingen K.B.G.*, vol. 37, p. 64). The text in the first volume of the present book is a copy of Brandes' edition. The following notes, the translation in volume III and the commentary of the present author are at variance with his predecessor's opinion in some matters of minor importance. It does not seem necessary to point out all differences.

The charter is engraved on one bronze plate,  $30 \times 7,3$  cm ( $12 \times 3$  inch). Though the text seems complete the plate bears the number one. Probably it is the initial one of a series of plates containing the texts of charters referring to Těnggěr districts. It is a copy, made in 1405 A.D., of an old charter ascribed to King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit who is called by his posthumous name Wėkas-ing-suka (Limit of Bliss). According to the Pararaton King Hayam Wuruk died in 1389 A.D.. The subsequent numbers of the series of plates may have contained other Těnggěr charters. Unfortunately they are lost.

The plate was found in 1880 or thereabout by a Javanese woman in a field in the district of Pěnañjangan in the Těnggěr massif in Eastern Java together with a bronze container for slaked lime used for betel chewing shaped like a phallus. Both objects were bought by Mr La Chapelle for the collections of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap*.

The idiom and the spelling of the charter of WalanĎit are the same as are found in other charters of the time not belonging to the Court sphere. The indifference in respect of the *h* at the beginning of a word is remarkable. In one line are found the spellings *hanagih* and *andika-ningong*. Evidently in the 14th century the *h* in that position was treated in the same manner as in modern Javanese speech. The combinations *ya* and *wa* of Old Javanese are superseded by *e* and *o* (*rehane*, *ayo*, *wong*), another point of conformity with modern Javanese. On the other hand the verbal suffix *-a* (*juwara*, *hamalōra*, *kagugona*) still has the

sense of an indication of a future tense (*shall*). In modern Javanese the suffix *-a* would be an archaism in those cases.

The charter's second part, the verso side, containing the detailed date in 1327 Shāka, shows some reminiscences of the Court style (*irika diwasa-sanya*, *tinambrukēn* and the title *talampakanira Bhaṭāra Hyang Wēkas-ing-Suka*). No doubt the second part is an addition of 1405 A.D. made by the writer (probably a *kanuruhan*, v. charter of Rēnēk, also edited in the present book) who was familiar with the Royal Court. The *kabayan* Made and the *buyut* (a headman of a rural community) mentioned at the end were the men who acted for the common families (*para warga*) of Walandit ordering the copy of the old charter to be made on a bronze plate. No doubt they had to pay for it. The plate was intended to be kept as a heirloom in their families. Unfortunately the conclusion of the charter has become illegible as a consequence of erosion.

The text of the addition on the verso side of the plate has some mistakes: *indikani* instead of *andikani* and *i reha* instead of *i rehe*. The reading of the names Mamanggis-Lili and Kacaba seems corrupt. Perhaps the names were Mamanggis-Hilir (i.e.-Downstream) and Kacubung, *kacubung* being the name of a well-known shrub (*Datura fastuosa*). The places have not been identified.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 76—78) the first date of the Walandit charter is between 17/XI and 16/XII 1381 A.D. and the second date is 21/VI/1405 A.D. The second date was already calculated by Brandes.

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## CHARTER OF PATAPAN

1385 A.D.

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This is no IV of the so-called Trawulan plates (v. the note on the Karang Bogēm charter), also published by van Stein Callenfels in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1918. The script shows some peculiarities that belong to modern Javanese writing. The idiom is the same as that of the Biluluk and Karang Bogēm charters. A part of the first line on the verso side is illegible.

The meaning of *sumalah* in this text is related to modern Javanese *seleh*.

*Tumrap* is found in the Nawaratya (v. glossary) used in the same sense: to rise in rank.

*Paññlĕk* is derived from *cĕlĕk*, a black dye, collyrium. Its original meaning is: black dyeing. On account of the places noted by van der Tuuk it seems probable that *paññlĕk* refers to a document on palm-leaf (with blackened writing, as usual) as distinct from a copperplate.

*Pomahan*, farm-yard, is a common word in modern Javanese, used in the same sense as in this text. The remarkable fact that *umah* and its derivatives are very seldom found in the Nāg. as well as in the other Old Javanese texts of the same era or older has been pointed out already. The Pararaton, on the other hand, has many places with *umah*.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in Jyaisṭha 1307 Shāka is between 10/V and 8/VI 1385 A.D.

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# CHARTER OF KARANG BOGĚM

1387 A.D.

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The copperplate of 1387 belongs to a group of plates that was found in 1918 in Trawulan, in the district of Mādžākĕrtā in Eastern Java. Van Stein Callenfels published a note on them and a transcription of some of them in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1918, p. 108, 143 and 169, calling them "the Charters of Trawulan". So the copperplate of 1387 has been known as "Trawulan V". As it seems more reasonable to call the plates after the places or the persons to whom they refer, the copperplate of 1387 is called "the Charter of Karang Bogĕm" in the present book.

Like the Biluluk and the Rĕnĕk plates it contains a rescript addressed to a group of persons in authority in the province. A remarkable point about this plate is the script, which is of an unusual type and difficult to read. Van Stein Callenfels' transcription has a facsimile added. The idiom is the same as of the other plates. The style is lapidary, which renders the interpretation rather difficult.

The text is to be divided into two parts. The first part refers to Karang Bogĕm and the second one to the fisheries. The connection between the two is the *patih tambak* (emendation for *tamba*) mentioned in line 2. In the first part the office of *patih tambak*, head of the fishponds, on the estate of Karang Bogĕm is instituted, and in the second part the fisherman from Grĕsik is appointed to that office.

The *dĕmung* shrub mentioned in line 3 could be either *Codiaeum variegatum* or *Graptophyllum pictum*. In modern Javanese *dĕmung* seems to refer as a rule to the second species.

Van der Tuuk in his KBNW mentions some places where *warigaluh* could refer to a sailor or to a trader. In the present text the translation "fisherman" seems preferable because of the fisheries mentioned in the second part. The etymology of the word is not clear. *Wariga* is found in some charters of great antiquity, e.a. the Kwak charter of 879 A.D. (*Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden* I, p. 14) among the

officials of rural communities assisting at a ceremony. The other meanings of the word, referring to chronology and divination, are well known. Perhaps it is related to modern Javanese *ringga*: wary and *rigĕn*: skilful, dexterous.

*Acan* in line 5 is another name for the fish-preserve that usually is called *trasi*. The Malay name is *bĕlacan*. Van der Tuuk mentions *acan* with the note: Sasak, i.e. the vernacular of the island of Lombok.

The last words of line 5 *sarahi, atambak, sesine* are difficult to explain. *Sarahi atambak* probably means: for each of the *tambak*-holders, i.e. for each *tambak*. A similar expression is found in the Ferry Charter (v. gloss.). The meaning of *bobot sewu* is: weighing as much as one thousand cash. The Chinese coins were used as money as well as for standard weight and even sometimes for standard measure. For this last end they were strung on a string. The Chinese bronze coins were in use in Bali till the middle of the 20th century; perhaps even longer. Their rate used to be about one seventh of a pre-war Netherlands East India cent, which works out at 1.750 cash for one gold U.S. \$.

The emendation *sesane* (i.e. *ġesane*) for *sesine* makes the rest of the sentence clear.

The meaning of *anggogonġok* is unknown. *Gonġok* means goitre; the word refers to something bulging. It is vain to try to find the meaning of *anggogonġok* on such a base.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in the 7th month of the Old Javanese year, i.e. Māgha 1308 Shāka is between 20/I and 19/II 1387 A.D.

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## CHARTER OF KATIḌEN

1392 A.D.

This copperplate of the local museum of Malang, province of East-Java, has been transcribed and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (T.B.G. 76, 1936, p. 387). The origin is unknown.

The idiom is the same as is found in the other rescripts.

The present English translation is not on all points in concordance with Poerbatjaraka's Dutch one.

His translation of the sentence *tan ananing aningkah-aningkuha* by: "*ook mag niemand enige (andere) regeling in welken vorm dan ook invoeren*" (nobody should introduce any different regulation whatsoever) is based on the supposition that the verb is a derivate of *tingkah*, order. That seems doubtful. *Tingkah* means order of action (in modern Javanese: manner of action), not: order-regulation-rule (Dutch *regeling*). *Aningkah-aningkuha* as a derivate of *tingkah* is unidiomatic; one would expect an expression like the end of the Ferry Charter: *yan hana umulah-ulah sarasa sang hyang ājña haji praçāsti*. The derivation from *singkuh* seems much more probable. The original meaning of *singkuh* is: left, and: back, metaphorically: underhand. The modern Javanese *slingkuhan* is an expression for: fraud.

The formations *tan ananing anglarangana* and *tan ananing aningkah-aningkuha* are unusual. In Old Javanese one would expect a sentence beginning with *aywa ana*: let there not be. The charter's sentences make one think of modern Javanese formations beginning with *karèben ora ana sing*. The Shela Maṇḍi charter has: *tan anani wong pati-pati angalapa*.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the Shāka year of the Katiḍen charter should be read 1314, and the date is between 24/III and 22/IV 1392 A.D.

## CHARTERS OF SHELA MAṆḍI

1394, 1395, 1396 A.D.

The two copperplates contain three short rescripts. They were presented to the Directors of the Royal Batavian Society by the well-known Javanese painter Raden Saleh on his coming home from a tour of Java in 1865 or 1866. The transcription was made by Dr Cohen Stuart. The two plates were published as number IV in his *Kawi Oorkonden* (Old Javanese Charters) of 1875.

Dr Cohen Stuart found the texts difficult to read. His transcription is sufficiently clear, though, to allow one to make a plausible translation. Both the spelling and the idiom of these Majapahit texts of the end of the 14th century have several modern Javanese features. The *akṣaras* of the vowels are often replaced by the *akṣara h* (which was no longer pronounced as *h* at the beginning of words) provided with a mark for the vowel. The infix *-in-* in verbs as a formative for the passive voice is replaced by the prefix *ka-*. It is remarkable that *-in-* is only found in the title *binuyut*; this use of the infix in relation to titles seems to be modern Javanese rather than Old Javanese. On all these points the Shela Maṇḍi texts conform to the Rĕnĕk, Biluluk, Patapan and Karang Bogĕm plates. The style is not lapidary, though, but rather prolix, showing several superfluous reiterations.

In *plate I recto sahuman*, which is unknown as the name of a district, perhaps should be read *sahuban*, all in the shadow of. *Sakahuban* is used in this sense in the Walaṇḍit charter.

In *plate I verso wukat* probably is a mistake for *wugat*: back, end, v. glossary.

*Rĕrambĕkĕl* should be read *sirambĕkĕl*.

The name of the landmeasure that is half (?) a *kikil* seems to be *jari* (cf. *ĕari*).

In *plate II recto paḅnyutan* (emendation for *paḅnyukan*) refers to the persons who would take Darani's lands, his neighbours (*brayan* in plate I verso), the *buyuts* of Shela Maṇḍi. The *pa-an* formation for office-bearers is found also in *paśĕḍahan*, *pañarikan* and *palayangan*.

The construction of the sentence *tan anani wong pati-pati angalapa* (the not-being of persons who have in mind to take) is unusual. Instead of *tan anani* one expects *aja ana* (there should not be). *Pati-pati* is related to *ngati-ati* (to mind). The meaning of the sentence is clear, though. The Katiden charter has sentences constructed in the same way.

*Ngapeksakna* (emendation for *ngameksakna*) is a derivation of Skt *apeksā* which is not found in the Javanese dictionaries.

*Āṇḍahane* is a future or subjunctive form of *ḍeṇḍa* (suffix -a) with the personal pronoun -ne annexed. This is unusual; in modern Javanese *ḍeṇḍanea* would be used. The explanation of *ḍeṇḍahane* as an -an-derivation of *ḍeṇḍa* (*ḍeṇḍaan*) with -e annexed is improbable because there is no reason why *ḍeṇḍaan* should not be contracted to *ḍeṇḍan*.

Plate II verso contains many words and expressions that are known from other texts. *Putajenan*, however, has not yet been found elsewhere. The meaning is clear, and the etymology probably is: *put* from *jumput* (to pick) and *aji, ajen* (lord, the lord's). Probably it is a synonym of the well-known *dr̥ṣya-haji*, which word is not used in the Shela Mandi plates.

According to Damais (B.E.F.E.O. 1952, p. 78) the date in plate I verso is between 3/III 1394 and 20/III 1395 and the date in plate II recto between 20/II and 21/III 1395 A.D.



IV. COMMONERS WITH A CART, SEE P. VIII.











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